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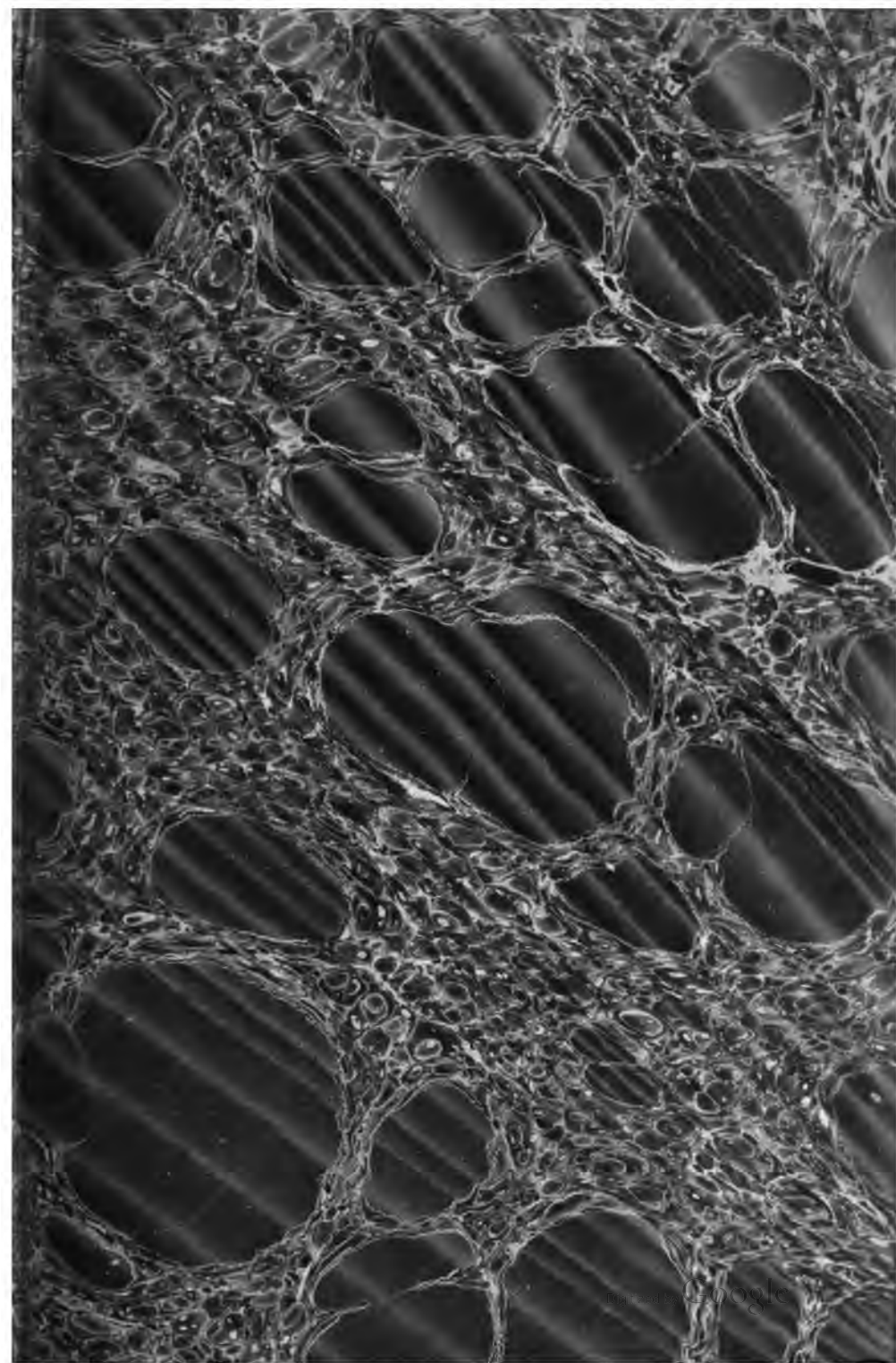
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
&c. &c.

21

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE
FIRST INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE IRISH,
TO
THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPILED
FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST ESTEEMED AUTHORS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC,
WHO HAVE WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ON MATTERS CONNECTED WITH

THE IRISH CHURCH ;
AND FROM IRISH ANNALS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,
STILL EXISTING IN MANUSCRIPT.

By **THE REV. JOHN LANIGAN, D. D.,**
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA.

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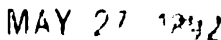
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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND, &c.

CHAPTER X.

Ailild the second, bishop of Armagh—Succeeded by Dubhtach or Duach—St. Senan—Erects the Church at Inniscarra—and of Innislunge—and of Innistuaisceart—Monastery of Inis-cathaig, now Inniscatthy—Kieran of Clonmacnois—St. Kieran of Saigir—St. Diermit abbot of Inis-clothran—St. Fedlimid of Kilmore—Bishop Illandus—St. Rioch, bishop of Innisbofinde—Tuathal monarch of Ireland killed—succeeded by Diermit—St. Finnian of Clonard—Finnian bishop of Maghbile—St. Frigidean—The two Brendans—Briga sister of St. Brendan of Clonfert—St. Iarlath of Tuam—SS. Comgall, Coemgen, and Kieran—Clonmacnois founded—St. Fintan of Clonenagh—Monastery of Benchor—St. Columbkil—David bishop of Armagh—succeeded by Feidlimid-fionn—St. Tegernach of Clones—Death of St. Senell or Sechnell—and of St. Odran—Columba son of Crimthan—Monastery of Tir-daglas—St. Mobhy Clairineach—St. Diérmid of Glean-ussen—St. Dagaeus, bishop of Iniscacoin—Corpreus or Carbreus of Coleraine—St. Regnach sister of St. Finnian—St. Lasra.

SECT. I.

ALILD the second, having governed the see of Armagh for ten years, died in the year 536. (1) I have nothing to add concerning him except that his anniversary was kept on the first of July, which was probably the day of his death. He was succeeded by Dubtach or Duach, usually called Dubtach the second, relatively to a former Dubtach predecessor of Alild the first. (2) The second Dubtach is said to have been a descendant of Colla-Huas, an ancient king of Ireland, and from whom was derived a family powerful in part of the territory now called Tyrone, to which family Dubtach, perhaps, belonged. He held the see for twelve years. The loss, which the church sustained in the Southern parts of Ireland by the death of Ailbe, and, it seems not long after, of Declan, (3) was soon repaired by the exertions of some persons distinguished for their sanctity and zeal. St. Senan, whose early history has been already sketched, (4) was among the foremost in this pious work and in setting an example of Christian penance and mortification. After he had left St. Naal's monastery, it is said that he went to foreign parts, and having visited Rome and Tours spent, on his return towards Ireland, some time with St. David of Menevia, (5) with whom he continued very intimate until his death. (6) Senan's first establishment was at Inniscarra, (7) where he erected a church. While he was in that place, a vessel arrived in Cork harbour, bringing fifty religious persons passengers from the Continent, who came to Ireland either for the purpose of leading a life of stricter discipline or of improving themselves in the study of the Scriptures. (8) Senan, with the greatest civility and kindness, retained ten of them with himself, while the others were distributed in various establishments. (9) He was not long at Iniscarra, when Lugadius, prince of that country, insisted on his submitting to certain exactions, which

Senan refused to comply with. The dispute was soon settled through the interference of two young noblemen, (10) who were then at the court of Lugadius. Not long after Senan, having left eight of his disciples at Iniscarra, (11) went to Inisluinge, (12) where, having erected a church, he gave the veil to some daughters of Brendan the dynast of Hyfiginte. Thence setting out by water for Inis-mor, he was driven by adverse winds to an island called *Inis-tuiscert*. (13) Thinking that it was by a special providence he was driven thither, he erected a church which he left the care of to some of his disciples. He then made his way to Inis-mor, (14) and there founded a monastery, which he governed for some time. We are then told that, having left St. Libern or Liberius, with some others, at Inis-mor, he went to the island of Inis-caorach, (15) where also he is said to have constructed an oratory, over which he placed some of his disciples. After some other transactions (16) we find him at length settled in the island of Inis-cathaig, now Iniscatthy, or, as some call it, Iniscattery in the mouth of the Shannon. We have already seen, (17) that this monastery was not established as early as some writers imagined; yet it existed about the year 540, and before the time, in which Kieran of Clonmacnois is said to have repaired thither to place himself under the direction of Senan. (18) To the erection of this monastery much opposition is said to have been made by a dynast of Hyfiginte, Mactalius, who claimed the island as part of his territory, and, being a pagan, endeavoured, together with his *magus*, to expel the saint. Through the interposition of the Almighty he got over these difficulties, and formed a religious community highly distinguished for the strictness of its discipline. One of its rules was that females should not be admitted into the island. (19) Senan was a bishop, when he founded this establishment, and probably some time earlier; (20) but when

or by whom he was consecrated, we are not informed.

(1) *Tr. Th.* p. 293. Usher, *Ind. Chron.* Ware, *Bishops*. Harris throws in a blundering observation, that some Irish Martyrologists place his death a year earlier; as if their A. D. 535 were not the same as our 536.

(2) See *Châp.* ix. §. 2. (3) See *ib.* §. 7. (4) *Ib.* §. 4. .

(5) Whatever we may think of Senan's continental excursions, his visit to St. David must be understood as having taken place before the latter became bishop of Menevia, as his accession to that see was, most probably, not prior to about A. D. 540, at which time Senan was certainly established at Inniscatthy. Just before the account of that visit, &c. (Senan's second life *cap.* 18) it is said that Senan went directly from Naal's monastery to visit St. Maidoc of Ferns. But St. Maidoc was not as yet born at that time. It may be that in his latter days he was acquainted with Maidoc when young.

(6) The great friendship between David and Senan is mentioned also in the first or Metrical Life, *cap.* 25; but nothing is said of his having visited David in Britain, or of his having ever left Ireland. And indeed it is probable that he did not. They might have kept up an intimacy and correspondence without having seen each other. Senan is not spoken of in any of David's lives, whereas Brendan, Aidan, and other Irishmen are, as having been personally acquainted with him. What bewitched Harris (*Bishops*, p. 502) to make Senan a disciple of David? Was it because it is said in the second life (the only authority Harris could have) that Senan, after having completed his studies and travels, paid a visit to him? David was, I am sure, the younger man of the two.

(7) This place is five miles from Cork, near the river Lee, in the barony of Barrets.

(8) In the second life (*cap.* 20) they are called *Romans*, that is, natives of a country where the Roman laws were still in force, such as, according to an observation of the Bollandists, "*Aquitani Romanis legibus etiam sub Francorum dominatu utentas.*" The whole passage is worth transcribing; "*Dum autem ibi ægeret (Senan), appellit ibi navis monachos adhevens peregrinos. In ea namque navi de ferebantur 50 monachi patria Romani, quos vel arctioris*

vitae vel scripturarum peritiae, tunc in ea multum florentis, desiderium in Hiberniam traxerat, ut ibi vivant sub magisterio quorundam sanctorum patrum, quos vitae sanctitate et monasticae disciplinae rigore intellexerant esse conspicuos."

(9) One of these other establishments is said to have been that of Finnian, in which we find no anachronism; but one occurs in reckoning that of Kieran among them, if, as appears most probable, the Kieran meant was he of Clonmacnois. For, this Kieran had no religious house of his own until after the foundation of Inniscathly, which was later than that of Inniscarra. There is also another palpable one in reckoning among them that of Barr of Cork.

(10) Their names were Aidus and Lugadius, whose history was written in verse (second life, *cap.* 22.) by Colman, son of Lenine, who died in the year 601. Aidus was father to Cathald, king of Munster, who died in 623. (*AA. SS.* p. 149). Hence we may suppose that Senan was at Inniscarra about A. D. 592; whereas Aidus was young at that time.

(11) Neither Ware nor Harris have a monastery at Inniscarra. Yet Archdall refers to them, as if they had.

(12) This was either an island in the Shannon, or a place near that river, along which lies the country anciently called *Hyffginte*. In the same second life (*cap.* 43) is mentioned Inisluidhe now Inisula, where it appears there was some religious establishment. It is one of the islands of the Shannon between Limerick and Inniscathly. Archdall, following some foolish authorities, says, (at *Inisula*) that Senan founded a monastery there before St. Patrick's arrival in Munster. Harris' position, although not so absurd, is equally wrong. He assigns it (*Monas.* under *Clare*) to the 5th century. Whether Inisluinge and Inisluidhe were the same place or not, I will not stop to inquire.

(13) Could this be Inistusker an island off the coast of Kerry, barony of Corcaguinny?

(14) A great number of islands went formerly by the name of *Inismor* or *Great island*. The one here mentioned is usually supposed to be Inchmore, alias Deer island, in the river Fergus where this river joins the Shannon. (See Dutton, *Statist. Survey of Clare*, p. 390.) Archdall (at *Inchmore* under *Clare*) places it in Loughrea in the Shannon, meaning I suppose, the expanse or lake formed by the junction of this river and the Fergus. Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 539) thought,

and I dare say justly, that the Inis-mor, in which Senan founded a monastery, lay further to the West, and near the Atlantic. Ware (*Ant. cap. 26 at Roscommon*) has a monastery of Inchmore in Lough-ree, the lake between the counties of Roscommon and Longford, and adds that it was founded perhaps by St. Liberius son of Lossenius. I suspect that he confounded the accounts of the two Inismors or Inchmores. For, one of the persons, and apparently the principal, whom Senan left at Inismore (in Clare) is said to have been Liborn or Liberius, who, according to Colgan, was the son of Lawcen or Loscen. Ware has not the Inchmore in Clare, nor has Harris; Archdall has both it and the one in Roscommon, jumbling together the accounts of them in a manner, which is not worth unravelling.

(15) One of the Enniskerry islands off the barony of Ibrickan, co. Clare. Mr. Dutton (*Stat. &c. p. 329*) says that is now called *Mutton-island*.

(16) An island or place, called *Iniscunla*, is mentioned among those, where he is said to have formed establishments. It is probable that some of these religious houses and churches were of later institution, and branches from the great monastery of Iniscatthy.

(17) *Chap. ix. §. 4.* To what has been there observed we may add, that in Senan's second Life Iniscatthy is represented as uninhabited until he took possession of it. This is a further proof of Usher's having been mistaken in supposing that St. Patrick had spent some time in that island.

(18) See below, §. 11. *Not. 175.*

(19) This regulation was observed even with regard to the most holy virgins. St. Cannera a nun from Bentraighe, a district near Bantry bay, wished to receive the holy viaticum from the hands of Senan and to be buried in Iniscatthy. Accordingly she set out for that island and, when arrived just close to it, was met by Senan who obstinately refused to allow her to land, and requested of her to go to the house of his mother, who lived not far distant and was related to Cannera. At length, however, on understanding that she was near her end, and that she wished to receive the holy Eucharist, he complied with her desire. As she died very soon after, her wish to be interred in that holy place was also fulfilled. *Second Life, cap. 40.* The dialogue between them is

thus given in the Metrical life ; “ Cui præsul, quid foeminis—commune est cum monachis?—nec te nec ullam aliam—admitteremus in insulam—Tunc illa ad episcopum ;—si meum credis spiritum—posse Christum suscipere,—quid me repellis corpore ?—Credo, inquit, hoc optime ; sed nulli unquam foeminae—huc ingressum concedimus—esto, salvet te Dominus—Redi iterum ad seculum—ne sis nobis in scandalum ;—etsi et casta pectore,—habes sexum in corpore.—Spero, ait, in Dominum—quod prius meum spiritum—de hac carne ejiciat—quam reverti faciat—Nec mora reddit spiritum,” &c. Concerning St. Cannera little else is known. Colgan has her Acts at 28 January. She was of a distinguished family of the ancient Carberry (See Smith, *History of Co. Cork, Chap.* 1.) ; and her mermory was revered in some churches, particularly in that territory.

(20) If it be true that he gave, as above mentioned, the veil to the dynast Brendan's daughters, when at Inisluinge, we must suppose that he was then a bishop.

§. 2. It may, perhaps, be allowed that St. Kieran of Saigir, concerning whom much has been said already, (21) became a bishop about the time we are now treating of, *viz.* about A. D. 538. His having been at Finnian's school of Clonard can be easily reconciled with his promotion at that period, as he was one of Finnian's first scholars, (22) and might have been above 20 years old when he went to study under him. Kieran, having retired to a lonesome spot, since called Saigir, in the territory of Hele and province of Munster, (23) there led at first the life of a hermit, and after some time erected a monastery, around which a city gradually grew up. (24) Next he established a nunnery in the neighbourhood for his mother Liadania and some pious virgins her companions, (25) whence the church of Killiadhwin has got its name. Besides the care of his monastery, Kieran was assiduously employed in preaching the Gospel in Ossory and elsewhere, and converted a great number of Pagans. (26) He is usually considered as the first bishop of Ossory and founder of

that see. (27) It is rather singular that, notwithstanding all that is said in the tracts, called his lives, in praise of Kieran, he is not much spoken of in the accounts of our saints, who were his contemporaries, and that none of our annalists or Hagiologists have marked the year of his death. (28) Hence Colgan was inclined to think that he died in Cornwall, as some English writers have said, and where he was known by the name of Piron. (29) But, according to other accounts, he not only lived but died at Saigir amidst his disciples and the people of his diocese. (30) Although the year of his death is unknown, there can be little doubt of his having been alive after the year 550. (31) His memory has been revered particularly in the diocese of Ossory, on the 5th of March, the anniversary of his death. (32)

(21) *Chap. i. §. 14.*

(22) In the list of illustrious men mentioned in Finnian's Acts (*cap. 19*) as having studied under him the two Kierans are placed first. I allow that this may not be considered as a conclusive argument. Nor do I pretend to state as certain that Kieran was a bishop at the time above given. Yet it is more than probable that he was not, prior to it. But, as he is not named in the second class of Irish saints, who flourished after the year 544, we may suppose that he had become distinguished some years earlier.

(23) "In Australi plaga et regione Mumeniae, videlicet in plebe, quae vocatur Hele." (*First Life of Kieran, cap. 6.*) This is the district, called *Ely O'Carrol*, and now comprized in the King's county.

(24) After the words now quoted we read ; "Et coepit B. Pontifex Kieranus ibi quasi eremita habitare ; quia eremus lata densa sylvis per circuitum erat, et de vila materia cellam suam incepit, et inde monasterium ; et postea civitas crevit Dei dono per gratiam S. Kierani ; quae omnia vocantur uno nomine *Sayghir*." Archdall (at *Seirkeran*), after saying that Kieran founded this abbey in 402, adds, that the monastery was founded in *succeeding ages*. For this nonsense he refers to Ware, who has it not.

(25) Harris, adhering to the stories about Kieran's great anti-

tiquity, assigns this nunnery to the 5th century. Archdall goes further, placing it about the beginning of said century.

(26) First life, *cap.* 40.

(27) Ware, *Bishops*, and *Ant.* *cap.* 29. The see, says Ware, was afterwards translated to Aghaboe, but when it is not certain. Harris follows Ware. It is doubtful whether Saigir and Aghaboe were not distinct sees ; but of this hereafter.

(28) Ware (*Bishops*, at *Ossory*) places his death in 549, confounding him with Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in that year. Yet elsewhere he supposed that he might have been alive at a much later period. See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* 1.

(29) Some English martyrologists, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 470), have at the 5th of March the commemoration of St. Piran, *alias* Kieran at Padstow in Cornwall. John Tinnuthensis says that he was buried in that country after having spent there the latter part of his life. (See Usher, p. 791.) Camden makes mention (*col.* 22) of a chapel dedicated in the name of St. Piran, an Irish saint, on the way between Padstow and St. Ives. The Britons, says Colgan, (*ib.* p. 463) changed the Irish *C* or *K* into *P*, and so for *Cieran* or *Kieran* read *Piran*.

(30) First Life, *cap.* 40. Second, *lect.* 12. Colgan observes (*p.* 470) that Saigir is not expressly mentioned in these passages as the place of his death. The context, however, shows that it was meant by the authors ; whereas they tell us that, a little time before his death, he called together his people, *populum suum*, and gave them his benediction. Add that in the first Life (*cap.* 5.) it is said that his honour and *resurrection* would be at Saigir.

(91) St. Ruadan, who died A. D. 584 (Usher, *Ind. Chron.*) is spoken of in the first Life (*cap.* 36) as abbot of Lothra (Lorrah) in Kieran's life time.

(32) To this day Dempster (*Hist. Scot. L. x. No.* 774) assigns the festival of a St. Kieran, who, he pretends, lived chiefly in the Western isles of Scotland. But the St. Kieran so much respected in that country, and to whom Dempster alluded, was, as will be seen lower down, Kieran of Clonmacnois, and his festival was kept on the 9th of September.

§. 3. St. Diermit, abbot of Inisclothran, (33) was contemporary with Senan, and a particular friend of

his. (34) He is said to have been of the illustrious house of the Hy-fiachri of Connaught, (35) and is supposed to have founded his monastery about A. D. 540. (36) He is generally styled only priest and abbot. (37) A book of prayers and litanies in verse is attributed to him, which, unless we suppose it to have been interpolated, must have been composed by an author of a later period. (38) The year of his death is unknown ; but the day marked for it is the 10th of January. St. Fedlimid of Kilmore (co. Cavan) is said to have been a brother of his. This saint is called by some bishop of Kilmore ; but there does not appear to have been any episcopal see in that place until the 15th century. (39) Nor have we any certain account of even a monastery having been erected at Kilmore by St. Fedlimid or any other person. (40) St. Fedlimid was perhaps no more than parish priest, or perhaps had there led a recluse life. Ware imagined that he might have been the same as a Fedlimid bishop of Clogher or Clones, whom he places third in succession after St. Tigernach. This is a mere conjecture, (41) for which he could not adduce any argument ; and why should that prelate of Clones, who was also buried there, have been called Fedlimid of Kilmore ? Among the many persons of that name it is easy to find room for one Fedlimid bishop at Clones, and for another, perhaps only a priest, at Kilmore. Concerning this saint I can find no further account than that he died on the 9th of August, but in what year we are not informed. (119) To this period, viz. about A. D. 540, (42) we may assign the monastery of the holy bishop Illandus at Rathlibhthen, (43) in which St. Aidus, son of Brée, of whom hereafter, had been educated. Illandus is said to have been a descendant, in the fourth generation, of the monarch Leogaire. His memory was revered on the 10th of June. (44) It may also be admitted that St. Rioch of Inisbofinde, who, as we have seen, (45) could not have been a disciple of St.

Patrick, or brother to St. Mel of Ardagh, (46) had by this time formed his establishment. For although St. Aidus, above mentioned, was himself an abbot, when he visited St. Riogh in his monastery, yet there is no anachronism in supposing that it might have existed in or about 540. St. Riogh, although usually styled *abbot*, was also a bishop. His monastery continued for several centuries. The year of his death is not recorded; but it seems the day of it was the first of August. (47)

(33) In Lough-ree, county of Longford. Colgan has at 10th January the best account he could find of St. Diermit.

(34) See Senan's metrical life, *cap.* 23.

(35) One of the districts, called *Hy-fiachra*, was the present barony of Tiereragh, Sligo.

(36) Colgan says that Diermit flourished about that year. Ware places (*Ant. cap.* 26 at *Longford*) the foundation of Nisiclothran in the first times of the Irish church. Harris assigns it to the 5th century. But according to what Colgan has collected concerning this saint, it must have been much later; for he is said to have been descended in the seventh generation from Dathias, king of Ireland, who was killed about the year 427. This and some other circumstances, would lead us to believe, that Diermit flourished later than even 540. But his being said to be contemporary with Senan, and with Kieran of Clonmacnois, has induced me to treat of him in this place.

(37) Marian Gorman has given him the title of *bishop*.

(38) Colgan had a copy of that tract. Among other saints Adamnan, who lived until the eighth century, is mentioned in it.

(39) Ware (*Bishops at Kilmore*) says, that the bishops of the diocese, known by this name, were called bishops of Breffny (the name of the territory) or of Triburna, an obscure village where they resided, until in the year 1454 Andrew Mc. Brady, bishop of Triburna erected, with the consent of Pope Nicholas V. the parish church of St. Fedlimid at Kilmore into a cathedral. He adds, that there seems not to have been any episcopal see in that district until a late period, and that the first bishop he had met with

there was Flan O'Conacty, called the bishop of Breffny, who died in 1231.

(40) Neither Ware, Harris, nor De Burgo have any old monastery at Kilmore (Cavan). St. Columba founded one at a place called *Kilmore deathreib* which Colgan (*AA. SS. Ind. Topogr.*) distinguishes from the episcopal town of Kilmore. Yet in the *Trias Th.* (p. 381.) he speaks of them as one and the same place, but corrects himself (*ib.* p. 494.) by telling us that Kilmore deathreib was in Connaught, and consequently different from the Kilmore of Cavan. Archdall, following Colgan where he was wrong, confounds (at *Kilmore, Cavan*) both places together.

(41) Harris (*Bishops at Kilmore*) has strangely misrepresented Ware's text. Instead of *Fedlimid bishop of Clones*, Harris makes him say, *Diermit* or *Dermot* (viz. of Inisclothan) *bishop*, &c. And yet (at *Clogher*) Harris himself, following Ware, has not Dermot but Fedlimid bishop at Clones.

(42) See Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(43) This place was in the part of the ancient Meath, called Fearcall, and now comprizing the baronies of Ballycowen and Ballyboy in the King's county.

(44) (*AA. SS.* p. 422.

(45) *Chap. VIII. §. 13.*)

(46) So far from having been a brother of Mel and a Briton I find him called *Mac-Hualaing*, son of Hualaing, or of the family of Laing. (*Rioch's Acts at 6 Mart.*)

(47) This is the day on which his name appears in the Irish Calendars. In consequence of the story of his having been a brother of St. Mel, he is placed at the 6th of February in the martyrology of Salisbury; and hence Colgan has him at that day.

§. iv. We are now near the time, which until the first class of saints in Ireland, partly foreigners, partly natives, is stated to have continued. (48) This class is brought down to the latter years of Tuathal's reign, and accordingly to above A. D. 542. (49) From St. Patrick's arrival in 432 until this period it comprehended 350 holy bishops, (50) who were all either *Romans, Franks, Britons, or Scots.* (51) They observed one and the same discipline, viz. that introduced by St. Patrick, (52) one mass, and one celebration, that is,

one uniform liturgy, (53) one tonsure, and one Easter or paschal cycle. (54) They did not reject the attendance and society of women ; because, *being founded upon the rock Christ, they did not fear the wind of temptation.* (55) This class, which is represented as the holiest of all, was succeeded by another, which began in the latter end of the reign of Tuathal and continued until the close of that of Aidus son of Ainmereich, or Ainmireus, viz. until A.D. 598, or 599. (56) It consisted of 300 saints, few of whom were bishops, the greatest part having been priests. (57) Their paschal computation and tonsure were the same as those of the former class ; but they admitted a diversity of Masses, or liturgies, and of monastic regulations. (58) They received a Mass from the Britons, David, Gildas, and Docus or Cadoc. (59) In the times of this class a rule was established, that women should not be allowed to serve in monasteries. (60) To it belonged, besides many others, two Finniains, two Brendans, Iarlath of Tuam, Comgall, Coemgen, Cieran (or Kieran) Columba, Caineach, Eogan mac Laisre, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormac, Colman, Nesson, Laisrean, Berrindeus, Coeman, Ceman, Conan, Endeus, Aedeus, and Byrchin. It now becomes requisite to give some account of these distinguished persons, following, as nearly as we can, the order of the time, (61) without, however, forgetting others their contemporaries, or omitting to record such remarkable occurrences as took place in their times.

(48) This catalogue of the Irish saints, divided into three classes, and distinguished according to the order of time, has been published by Usher, (p. 913, *seqq.*) and is a very interesting document, throwing great light on our ancient ecclesiastical history. Even Ledwich admits (*Antiq.* p. 415) that it is extremely valuable. And yet he says (*ib.*) that the author lived about the 12th century. Why so ? Because St. Patrick is mentioned in it. This is criticism ! If this catalogue were written so late, would it end

at the year of the great plague, A. D. 665? The fact is that it bears every mark of high antiquity, and was most probably drawn up some time before the disputes about the Paschal cycle and the tonsure had totally subsided, which was not until about the year 716. In the account of the third class mention is made of the various observances with regard to these matters; but we find no allusion to the time when uniformity became prevalent. The mighty Doctor adds; "It is to be lamented, that Usher did not take more pains in illustrating it." What an impudent observation! Usher dedicated full 57 pages (not including the *Addenda*, &c.) to the illustration of it, which he has executed in a superior manner far beyond the Doctor's comprehension. He has not, indeed, misrepresented the author's meaning, or given us a farrago of lying polemics, as the Doctor has done in four or five dull pages concerning it. This catalogue may also be seen in Fleming's *Collectanea Sætra*, or the Works and Acts of St. Columbanus of Luxeu, besides other tracts. It is in the *Dissertatio de Monastica St. Columbani professione*, Articul. 3. p. 430. seqq. and was taken from a very ancient Life of St. Patrick. Fleming says, that part of it was likewise in an old Life of St. Finnian. His edition differs in some immaterial points from Usher's, which is evidently more correct.

(49) Ledwich (*ib.*) reckons down to the year 534; but that was not one of the last, but the very first year of Tuathal's reign. The poor Doctor can never count right.

(50) See *Not.* 30 to *Chap.* VII. If the number be correct, it must be accounted for on the principle of including the *chorepiscopi* under the name of *bishops*, and on the practice of granting episcopal consecration to the superiors of religious houses. On this subject more elsewhere.

(51) As the author of the catalogue lived at a time, when the Franks were Christians and completely settled in Gaul, he gave that name to the Gallic missionaries, who accompanied St. Patrick to Ireland. The Irish were still called *Scots*, when he wrote. What then becomes of Ledwich's 12th century? Under *Romans* he included, I dare say, besides St. Patrick himself *Chap.* III. §. 17.) the companions of Palladius, who remained in Ireland.

(52) "Unum ducem Patricium habebant." The meaning of these words is, as appears from what follows, that there was no

variety of monastic or religious regulations during the period assigned to the first class, whereas divers rules, &c. were introduced in the times of the second and third classes. Ledwich remarks, that the author was not devoted to Rome because, while he speaks of Christ as the head and St. Patrick as the leader, he does not mention the Pope. What a mighty theologian! The author had no occasion to mention the Pope, as his object was merely to touch upon the discipline observed by the Irish church, which was then no other than that established by St. Patrick. There was no question concerning the state and nature of the universal church, or the rights, and privileges of particular sees. Suppose a Protestant author were to write; "The clergy of London acknowledge one head Christ and the bishop as their leader;" would it follow that he did not allow the King's supremacy, or the canonical subordination of the bishop of London to the archbishop of Canterbury? One would imagine that our great Doctor would, to vex the Pope, have kept a fast hold of St. Patrick's leadership. But he was determined, at all hazards, on not allowing St. Patrick even a corner in this world, and accordingly asks (p. 406); "If St. Patrick had lived at the time it is pretended, and if he founded monasteries, would not the monks of St. Patrick have been mentioned, and would not his rule have been universal throughout Ireland?" That St. Patrick drew up a monastic rule is asserted by Ware (*Opusc. St. Patr.* p. 117) and others. (See *Chap. vii.* §. 15.) Supposing even that he did not, it is, however, certain that there were monks in Ireland, viz. such as those of Lerins and Tours, in his time. (See his *Confession* and *Canons* passim). Now these monks, and their successors down to the end of the first class of saints, observed the discipline laid down by St. Patrick, and thus his rule was, for at least 100 years, *universal throughout Ireland*, and so one of the Doctor's queries is answered. As to the other about the name of *Monks of St. Patrick*, it is one which any man of middling ecclesiastical reading would be ashamed to propose. The more ancient monks had no distinct appellations derived from the authors of monastic rules or from their superiors. Sometimes, indeed, they were distinguished by the names of the places where they lived, such as Nitria, Lerins, &c. Even the Benedictines did not assume this name until long after the death of St. Benedict. While he lived,

they were merely *monachi*, or, at most, *monachi Cassinates*. Marsham has (*propyl. ad Monastic Anglican.*) well observed; "*Schisma monachatus fuit origo Ordinum. Succrescentibus novorum monachorum sectis, qui Benedictinae regulæ tenaciore fuerunt, distinctionis gratia, Benedictini nuncapara coeperunt. Antea enim quum non erant a quibus distinguerentur, non erat opus discretivi nominis; simplex monachi sufficiebat vocabulum.*"

(53) What this liturgy was, will be inquired into elsewhere. The author's meaning is as clear as day-light. He tells us, that, whereas a diversity of liturgies, &c. was introduced after the times of the first class of saints, no such diversity existed during the period that it lasted. Out of this plain statement the mountebank polemic Ledwich squeezes out (*p.* 417) this nonsenical conclusion; "Our orthodox author saw and lamented the corruptions of popery in her numberless masses for saints, the dead and the like," &c. Does this stupid quibbler mean to say, that the one mass and one celebration are to be so understood as if divine service had been celebrated only once during the whole time of the first class of saints? If this be not his meaning, he has uttered downright nonsense. What has the celebration of mass, or, in other words, of the public service of the church, on various occasions, such as the festivals of saints, to do with the nature of the liturgy? The mass and the substance of the liturgy are still the same, whatsoever be the day or occasion, on which it is celebrated. The Latin mass, strictly speaking, is the same every day; and so is the Doctor's favourite Greek mass. So are the Syriac, Slavonic masses, &c. And in the church of England service is not the essential part of the liturgy the same on holidays as on Sundays? Perhaps the Doctor disapproves of the practice of his church with regard to the observance of holidays. His manner of treating these subjects is very different from that of Usher, Stillingfleet, and Bingham, who well knew what is meant by a *variety of masses or liturgies*, which the author of the catalogue alluded to. Usher says of him (*p.* 916); "*Et Missæ quidem sive publicæ liturgiæ unum et eundem ritum initio a Patricio huc introductum, et a discipulis illius ipsius observatum ille notat.*" And with regard to the variety afterwards introduced he adds (*p.* 917); "*in quo (secundo ordine) ut et in tertio diversas Missas, sive dissimiles Liturgias formulas, in Hibernia receptas*

fuisse idem indicat." Here we see the man of learning, without ranting against popery. But where are such men to be found in our days? We have Ledwiches enough but no Usher. The unfortunate Doctor has, by his stumbling on this subject, overturned the fabric which he was striving to raise. One of the chief objects of his book is to shew, that the Irish had no connection with Rome, and that they detested the *Romish corruptions*, for more than ten centuries (See p. 360.) He meant to say, I suppose, until later than the tenth century of the Christian era; for were the ten centuries to be reckoned from the time at which they first became Christians, the detestation of Rome would have continued to a late period indeed. According to his explanation of our author's text every thing was right and free from *Romish corruptions*, as long as there was but one Mass; consequently the *corruptions* crept in together with the variety of Masses. Thus then they began as early as about the year 542, when the second class of saints made its appearance; for this class celebrated not one, but divers Masses. Hence it follows that the Finnians, Kieraps, Columbkil, &c. were, as the Doctor must allow, staunch Romanists, and that the detestation of Popery ceased about 500 years sooner than he would elsewhere fain make us believe. It is a true saying that *liars ought to have good memories*.

(54) The paschal and tonsural questions will be treated of hereafter.

(55) "Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant." Nothing can be plainer than the meaning of this passage. Those holy bishops did not scruple to be attended occasionally by females, or even to employ them as servants; nor did they refuse to converse with or sit in the company of women in the same manner as our Saviour had done. Ware says (*Opusc. S. Patr. p. 124.*) that the author was wrong in this assertion; because, as Jocelin relates, St. Patrick had decreed, that religious persons of different sexes should not be allowed to live together in one house; which was certainly ordered, as to monks and nuns, in the 9th canon of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, &c. as also that they should not drive in one curricule, nor hold frequent conversations with each other. Yet there is no contradiction between this canon and the words above quoted. The author of the catalogue was speaking of bishops, persons of a mature age and long habituated in the rules of exemplary conduct. The regulations relative to monks and

nuns, many of whom were young and merely in a state of training unto a virtuous life, do not apply to bishops, who, by their very station, are obliged to mix with the world, and consequently to converse often with females. The situation of monks and nuns, on the contrary, requires a great degree of seclusion from the world, and there is seldom any necessity for such religious persons of both sexes to hold conversations together; but when any just cause might occur for such conversations, St. Patrick did not prohibit them, whereas the canon refers to *frequent* ones, held *assidue*. Ledwich comes forward, (p. 418) with an explanation of that passage, which is so ridiculous, that it is strange how it could have come into any man's head. He says the meaning of it is that those bishops were *married and not subject to temptation*. Another opportunity will occur for demonstrating that our bishops were not married in those days; but let us now examine a little this shameful perversion of the text. It states that the bishops did not shun the society of women because, *being founded on Christ, they did not fear the blasts of temptation*. Surely any one of common sense would conclude from these words that they were not married, and that, notwithstanding, they were not afraid to converse with women, or to be attended by them, owing to the strength of their virtue. According to the Doctor's interpretation the passage would run thus; "They did not shun the company of women, because, *being founded on the rock Christ, that is, married, they did not fear, &c.* Thus then our Saviour, the rock, is transformed in matrimony. Or the Doctor meant to say, that they got themselves married, *because they did not fear the wind of temptation!!!* How would Sancho have startled, had he heard his master assign such a reason for entering into the married state? But our Doctor's flights exceed those of Don Quixote. We all know that very many persons marry because they are in dread of temptation; and I believe that this is the motive, which induces the far greater part of good Christians, according to the advice of St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 9.), to embrace that state. It was reserved for Ledwich to let the world know, that in old times even bishops used to take wives to themselves, because they *did not fear the wind of temptation*. *Apage!*

(56) See below Not. 62 to Chap. XII.

(57) Ledwich (p. 419) distorts this plain statement into a fiction of his making, viz. that bishops were less honoured than abbots.

(58) As religious houses were multiplied, and the members of them became more numerous, some new regulations were added to the primitive simple system of rules. These additional statutes varied according to the discretion of the founders or superiors of the establishments, or as particular circumstances required, whereas every religious community, with few exceptions, was governed within itself; which system continued in Ireland later than in many other countries. While the rule of St. Basil was generally adopted by the Greek monks, and that of St. Benedict was received in the greatest part of the Western church, the founders of our monasteries were at liberty to make peculiar regulations, without confining themselves to any rule already established by others. Yet on the whole they adhered to the original plan introduced by St. Patrick, according to which the religious houses in Ireland were both monasteries and colleges, in which the sciences, particularly theological, were taught, and young men educated for the active service of the church, and in this respect the monastic system of Ireland differed from that of Egypt, and from the Benedictine institution as originally formed and formerly observed.

(59) Having treated at large of these three eminent men, I will now merely observe that from this passage it is clear that they were contemporaries with the second class of Irish saints, and with each other. Thus then St. David must have lived for several years later than 544, otherwise he would have been dead about the very time that this class was beginning to appear. Gildas, or, as our author calls him, Gilla must have been in high repute with the saints of that class, and looked up to by them as a senior, and experienced teacher. How can this be understood in the system of Usher, who makes him (*p.* 953) his Gildas Badonicus? For, this pretended Badonicus, who, he says, was born in 520, would have been a stripling, compared with the Finnians and some others of that class. The Gildas, so much respected by those saints, must have been he who had taught at Armagh, and whom Usher calls *Albanus*. But *Albanus*, according to him, had died in 512. The only way to get rid of these difficulties is to admit that there was but one Gildas, as, I think, has been sufficiently proved already. As to Docus, whom Usher passes over very slightly, who could he have been except Cadoc of Lancarvan, the contemporary and intimate friend of Gildas? (*See Not.* 176 to *Chap.* ix.)

When it is said that our saints received a mass, or liturgy, from St. David, &c. this must be understood only of some of them, whereas it is known that others followed that, which had been introduced by St. Patrick, for instance Comgall of Bangor. (See Usher, *p.* 917.) Cressey has mistranslated (*B. xi. ch.* 19) the passage, and makes the author say that those saints received *the* rite of celebrating Mass from David, &c. as if the Irish had no Mass before. Was this a wilful mistranslation?

(60) "*Abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis.*" This regulation was considered adviseable and necessary, after the monasteries or colleges became crowded with young students. We have seen that St. Senan, who lived in the times of the second class, had introduced it into his establishment of Iniscathay. It was enforced also in those of St. Carthag at Lismore, St. Molua, St. Fechin, and others. (See Usher, *p.* 943. *seqq.*) until at length it became a general rule, which is observed to this very day in all the monasteries and convents of men, episcopal seminaries, and very many colleges in the Continent. Some of the superiors of our Irish communities would not allow women to enter even the churches or chapels belonging to them. This was not doing them any injury, whereas such churches or chapels were originally intended for the use of the monks alone, while the laity of both sexes had the parish churches to resort to. The mighty Ledwich sneers (*p.* 420) at the practice of excluding females from the monasteries. How would he like to see boarding schools composed indiscriminately of grown up boys and girls? He says that the separation of the sexes took place in consequence of "matrimony being interdicted the clergy." Thus he allows that ecclesiastical celibacy was enjoined as early as the period of the second class of saints. He tells us that a *manly* religion does not want these sorts of regulations. *Manly religion* is a favourite phrase of his, and matrimony a subject which he recurs to with delight. I hope he does not consider matrimony as the quintessence of Christianity, and that he does not hold the future joys, to which he may aspire, in the same light as those of the Mahometan paradise.

(61) The author, in arranging the names of these saints, seems to have had in view, at least partly, the order of seniority. Yet there appear some exceptions to this rule. Nesson, *ex. c.* is

named after others, than whom he was older. Endeus, if however he was Enda of Arran, should have been placed in the foremost part of the list, if seniority was the only rule, which the author intended to follow.

§. v. Before we enter into this detail, it will not be amiss to observe that Tuathal, towards the end of whose reign the second class of saints began, was killed in the year 544 by Moelmor, who was soon after put to death by Tuathal's friends. (62) He was succeeded in the monarchy by Diermit (the first) son of Cervail or Kerrbheoil, and a prince of the royal house of Neill Neigilliach. The reign of Diermit lasted until the year 565. (63) To come to the saints of the second class the first mentioned are two Finniains, the more distinguished of whom was the great teacher at Clonard. The history of this illustrious man has been already (64) brought down to the time, that he formed his establishment in that place, which was probably about A. D. 530. His reputation was so great for learning and sanctity, (65) that crowds of students and distinguished persons flocked to his school and monastery, among whom are mentioned (66) the two Kierans, Columbkil, Columb of Tirdaglas, &c. Yet there is, I dare say, some exaggeration in what is said of his having had, in the course of his teaching, three thousand scholars. (67) Several writers speak of him as not only abbot but bishop of Clonard; (68) yet it is rather odd that, neither in his Acts nor in the Irish Calendars, is he called a bishop. We find him thus designated in one or two lives of other saints; (69) and Senachus, his successor in the government of the house of Clonard, was certainly one. (70) That Clonard was an ancient episcopal see, cannot be called in question; (71) but I confess I entertain a doubt whether Finnian or Senachus was its first bishop. Be this as it may, Finnian was distinguished not only for his extraordinary learning and knowledge of the holy

scriptures, but likewise for his great sanctity and austere mode of living. His usual food was bread and herbs ; his drink water. On festival days he used to indulge himself with a little fish and a cup of beer or whey. He slept on the bare ground, and a stone served him as a pillow. (72) He was attended in his last illness by St. Columb son of Crimthan, (73) or, as otherwise known, St. Columb of Tirdaglas, and died at Clonard in the year 552, on, as some accounts state, the 12th of December. (74)

(62) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 4. O'Flaherty agrees with Ware and Usher as to A. D. 544, being the year of Tuathal's death, although he supposed his reign to have lasted 11 years. (See *Not.* 192 to *Chap.* ix.) Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* p. 447.) that Tuathal was killed in the 11th year of his reign, which, following the 4 Masters, he makes the same as A. D. 538 (539). There can be little doubt that O'Flaherty's calculation is more correct.

(63) Ware, *loc. cit.* and Usher *Ind. Chron.*

(64) *Chap.* ix. §. 8.

(65) He was called Finnian the *Wise* ; and one of the writers of his Life, quoted by Usher, (p. 1046) says that he was chief among the saints of the second class, alluding to his name appearing at the head of the list.

(66) Finnian's *Acts* at 23 *Feb. cap.* 19. See also Usher, p. 909. Among the persons mentioned here and there as having attended Finnian's lectures, we find some, ex. c. Brendan of Clonfert, who, if it be true that they did so, must have been rather advanced in life at that time.

(67) In the Lauds for Finnian's office we read ; " *Trium virorum. millium—Sorte fit doctor humilis.*" This passage is not to be understood as if he had all that number of scholars at one time, but of the whole of those, whom he taught at Clonard from his commencement there until the time of his death.

(68) Ware (Bishops at *Meath*) calls Finnian the first bishop of Clonard. Harris adds that he was promoted in the year 520. For this date he had no authority, except Usher's assigning to that year Finnian's return to Ireland. But Usher does not bring him

to Clonard until 544. It is true that Usher was wrong in this date, (See *Not.* 192 to *Chap.* ix.) but Harris had no right to place Finnian bishop at Clonard until he was settled there; which, although not so late as 544, was certainly later than 520. Ledwich (*Antiq.* p. 401) refers to Harris for this date of the see of Clonard, and throws out of his own what Harris has not, viz. that Clonard was the oldest see in Meath. On the contrary Harris (*Bishops at Meath*) and Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29.) makes express mention of older sees in that country, such as that of Secundinus at Dunshaughlin, Kenan at Duleek, and Erc at Slane, of which we have treated already.

(69) On this point Adamnan would be an unexceptionable witness, if the holy bishop Findbarr, Finnio, or Vinnian, with whom he tells us more than once that St. Columba had spent some time were the same as Finnian of Clonard. But there is every reason to think, that he was Finnian of Maghbile, whom we find called by other writers *Findbarr* or *Finnbarr*, that is, *White-haired*; which name, as far as I can discover, does not occur where Finnian of Clonard is undoubtedly spoken of. There is indeed an affinity between the names, and a person of the name of *Findbarr* might be called *Finnian* or *Finnio*, that is, *whitish* or *fair*, as Adamnan himself has shown; but it does not follow, that every Finnian could be called *Findbarr*, whereas a person might be of a fair complexion without having white hair. It is certain that Columba studied under Finnian of Maghbile, although he might have been also at the school of Clonard. In the life of St. Columb of Tirdaglass quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 404) Finnian of Clonard is expressly called bishop. He seems to be also the bishop Finnian mentioned in the life of St. Colmanel or Colman, son of Beogni. (*Ib.* p. 405.)

(70) Hence, as likewise from some successors of Senachus at Clonard, having been bishops, Colgan argues (*AA. SS.* p. 402.), that Finnian had been one also. This, however, is not a necessary consequent; and it deserves to be remarked that in the list of the superiors of that establishment given by the 4 Masters (*ib.* p. 406.) Finnian, who appears first, is styled simply *abbot*, whereas Senachus, who is placed next after him, is marked as *bishop*, and then some abbots, after whom again some named bishops.

(71) As Clonard was an episcopal see since, at least, the times

of Senachus, who died in the year 588, and as the prelates of that place were, at a later period, sometimes called the Comarbans or successors of Finnian, it became natural to suppose, that he had been bishop there. Thus we may account for his being called by that title in some tracts written long after his death. And hence perhaps the mention of his episcopal dignity in the prayer for his Office, although there is not the least allusion to it in the lessons. The prayer, as it now appears, is certainly a later composition than the other part of that Office.

(72) Finnian's Acts, *cap.* 31.

(73) *Ib.* *cap.* 20.

(74) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "*A.* 551 (552) *Quies Finin Cluainard.*" They are followed by Usher and Ware, and their authority is, I believe, (See below, *Not.* 236.) preferable to that of the 4 Masters, who place his death in 548 (549) on no better authority, I suspect, than the supposition that he was swept away by the plague, that raged in that year. (See *AA. SS.* *p.* 150.) In the Acts of St. Columb of Tirdaglas, quoted by Colgan (*ib.* *p.* 404) we read that Finnian, finding *his end approaching*, sent for him; but no allusion is made to any plague or great mortality. Archdall thought fit (at *Clonard*) to follow the 4 Masters. Colgan pretends (*ib.* *p.* 406.) that Finnian must have been alive in 563, the year in which Columbkil left Ireland; because Adamnan relates (*Vit. S. Col. L.* 3. *c.* 2. Messingham's *ed.* or *c.* 4. Colgan's *ed.*) that just before his departure for Britain he paid a visit to his old master the bishop Finnio. For the same purpose Colgan refers also to some silly stories concerning the cause of Columbkil's quitting Ireland and his applying for penance to bishop Finnio; which stories Usher has given (*p.* 902 *seqq.*), and Harris copied in part (*Bishops*, *p.* 136). It is odd that Usher did not animadvert on those fables, particularly as he thought (*p.* 954) that said bishop Finnio was Finnian of Clonard. As to said fables, we will see elsewhere. Meanwhile I allow that bishop Finnio, mentioned by Adamnan, was alive in 563, a circumstance which Usher must have overlooked when he lays down as the same with our Finnian, whose death he assigns to 552. The fact is that the bishop Finnio of Adamnan was Finaian of Maghbile, as Colgan himself states elsewhere (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 372 and *AA. SS.* *p.* 644.). The memory of Finnian of Clonard was celebrated on, at least, three days in the year, one of which was the 23d of

February. On this account Colgan has given one of his lives at this day, having intended to publish another at December 12, which, he says, seems to have been his *Natalis* or day of his death. (See *AA. SS.* p. 402. and compare with *Not.* 237, to this chapter.)

§. vi. The second Finnian was the bishop and abbot of Maghbile (Moville) in the now county of Down. (75) This saint, who is often called Findbarr, was son of Corpreus of the princely house of the Dalfiatach; and his mother's name was Lassara. (76) They were undoubtedly Christians; for Finnian was, as we have seen, (77) when very young, placed under the care of St. Colman of Dromore, by whom he was afterwards recommended to the abbot Caylan. This holy man directed him to the great school of Nennis in Britain, (78) concerning which we have treated already. (79) From Finnian's having been a pupil of Colman it may be safely deduced that he was born about the beginning of the sixth century. Having spent some time at Nennio's school, it is said that for his further improvement he went to Rome, where, he studied for seven years and was raised to the priesthood. (80) At what precise time he formed his establishment at Maghbile I do not find recorded; but most probably it was not later than the year 540, whereas Columbkil was young at the time of his studying there under Finnian. (81) On what occasion or when he was raised to the episcopal rank we are not informed; yet no doubt can be entertained of his having been a bishop. (82) He was not, however, the same as St. Frigidianus, bishop of Lucca in Italy, as some writers have imagined. (83) Not to enlarge upon what is said of St. Frigidian's parents having been pagans, and his stealing away from them, which by no means accords with what we know concerning the early years of Finnian, it is sufficient to observe that Frigidian, after an episcopacy of 28 years, died at Lucca, where his remains were disco-

vered in the reign of Charlemagne (84); whereas it is certain that Finnian was buried at Maghbile, where his tomb used to be resorted to as distinguished by miracles. (85) Add that the *Natalis* of Frigidian, or the day of his death, was constantly marked the 18th of March, while that of Finnian was the 10th of September. (86) The confusion now alluded to has given rise to useless questions concerning the year of Finnian's death; (87) which, according to very respectable authority, occurred in the year 576. (88) I pass over some very uncertain anecdotes relative to proceedings of his, (89) and shall only conclude his history with observing, that his memory was highly revered in the territory properly called *Ullagh* or *Ulidia*, and that he was considered the peculiar patron saint of the people of that country. (90)

(75) Besides Maghbile in Down another place of the same name in Donegal is spoken of, where it is said, there was also a monastery. On this obscure and confused subject I have nothing to add to what has been said already. (*Not.* 17 to *Chap.* vi.)

(76) *AA. SS.* p. 649. (77) *Chap.* ix. §. 1.

(78) See *Not.* 189 to *Chap.* viii.

(79) *Not.* 17 to *Chap.* ix. (80) Usher p. 954.

(81) It is an undoubted fact that Columbkil studied in the monastery of Maghbile. According to his Life by O'Donnel (*L.* 1. c. 39) this was the first high school, to which he repaired after his boyhood. In the account of the miracle of water changed into wine for the service of the altar, the officiating bishop, whom Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 1) calls *Findbarr*, is in this Life (*loc. cit.*) said to have been Finnian of Maghbile. Keating also (*B.* 2.) speaks of him as the master of Columbkil when young, and tells us that it was at his school that the latter got this name instead of his original one *Crimthan*.

(82) Besides the testimony of Adamnan (See *Not.* 69.) we have the authority of various Irish hagiologists (*AA. SS.* p. 643), who call him *bishop of Maghbile*. And in the Life of St. Comgall of Bangor he is thus spoken of; "Vir vita venerabilis, S.

Findbarrus episcopus, qui jacet in multis miraculis in suæ civitate Maghbile."

(83) Colgan undertook to support this hypothesis at March 18, where he has two so called lives of St. Frigidian or Fridian, bishop of Lucca. These lives were patched up, as Colgan admits, at a very late period, and are much like each other. Some circumstances are mentioned, which seem to show that the authors had confounded Frigidian with Finnian; *ex. c.* his having been at the school of Candida (Candida casa) in Britain, on which occasion they relate a story of his master Mugentius having, through envy, made an attempt to take away his life. They mention also his having been at Maghbile. In the second life the analogy is carried still further; for it is there stated that Fridian's first name was *Findbarr*. Hence it appears probable, that the traditions concerning Frigidian and Finnian were jumbled together as if they had been relative to one person. It may perhaps be allowed that St. Fridian or Frigidian of Lucca, who was certainly a native of Ireland, had been educated at Maghbile under Finnian. The time, in which he lived, and his having been an Ulster man, agree very well, as will be seen elsewhere, with this supposition.

(84) See the Office for St. Frigidian, 18 *Mart.*

(85) See *Not.* 82 and *AA. SS.* p. 643. (86) *AA. SS. ibid.*

(87) Colgan endeavoured to show that St. Frigidian, whom he confounded with Finnian, died about A. D. 595. His conjectures are founded, in great part, on this confusion. But as they were distinct persons, it would be a waste of time to examine Colgan's calculations, some of which are quite wrong and others very doubtful. Archdall not only followed them (at *Moville* in Down), but amidst other trash has stated in a positive manner, that Finnian was buried at Lucca in 595. Ughalli (*Italia Sacra. ad Ep. Luccases*) places the death of St. Frigidian in 588.

(88) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "A. 576. Quies Finin Maghbile." Perhaps this must be understood of the year 577, whereas under the same date they place the death of Brendan of Clonfert, who died in 577.

(89) One of the most remarkable is a pretended dispute between him and Columbkil concerning the right to a copy of some part of the Scriptures. In O'Donnel's Life of the latter, (*L. 2. c. 1.*) a great repository of doubtful traditions, this dispute

is said to have begun at a place called Droimfionn, where Finnian then happened to be. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 451*) that the church of Droim-fionn is in the county of Louth and diocese of Armagh. What Colgan calls a Church Archdall has transformed into a monastery, and tells us that Finnian was bishop and abbot there. In several Irish Calendars there is not the least allusion to any such monastery as belonging to Finnian. He is constantly called Finnian of Maghbile, without the addition of any other place. Droimfionn, whoever erected a church there, was perhaps the same as Dromyn in the barony of Ardee, county Louth.

(90) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 646*) quotes to this purpose the *Sal-tair-na-rann* of Aengus Kelideus. We have already seen that Ulidia comprized only some of the Eastern parts of modern Ulster and chiefly of the now county of Down.

§. 7. Next come the two Brendans, one of whom, *viz.* Brendan, commonly called *of Clonfert*, was more celebrated than the other. The accounts, which are to be met with here and there concerning this great man are extremely confused. In the first place opinions are different as to the place of his birth. Some writers make him a native of Connaught; (91) but this is a mistake founded on his having erected a monastery at Clonfert, in which he spent the latter part of his life, and whence he got the name, *Brendan of Clonfert*. According to the more ancient and consistent authorities he was born in Kerry. (92) His father was Finloga, of the distinguished family of Hua Alta. (93) Brendan came into the world in the year 484, (94) and is said to have received the first rudiments of his education under a bishop Ercus, (95) who was, perhaps, the celebrated bishop of Slane, and who, being of a Munster family, (96) might have been connected with that of Brendan. But, as more than one bishop Ercus is spoken of as being in those early times, and particularly in Munster, (97) no decisive opinion can be formed on this subject. How long Brendan remained under the

care of that bishop I cannot discover. (98) Next we are told that, when a *young* man, he studied theology under St. Iarlath of Tuam, who was then *old*, and *infirm*. This statement cannot be reconciled with what is known concerning the times, in which Iarlath flourished, and nothing more can be allowed than that these two saints, being contemporaries, used to confer with each other on religious and theological subjects, or that Brendan, although about the same age with Iarlath, had perhaps attended to his lectures for some time. (99) In somewhat like manner must be understood what is said of Brendan's having been at the school of Clonard; (100) whereas it is very probable that he was not younger than Finnian, who taught there. To atone for the death of a person who had been drowned in the sea, and to which Brendan feared he had involuntarily contributed, he is said to have gone, by the advice of St. Ita, (101) to Britain, by which is to be understood not Great Britain, but Brittany. (102) Having paid a visit to Gildas, who was then living in that country, and advanced in years, (103) he went to another part of Brittany and formed a monastery or school at Ailech. (104) It is added, that he erected a church in a place, called *Heth*, somewhere in the same province. The famous voyages of St. Brendan would, were we to admit one account of them, have taken place after his arrival in Brittany, as if it were thence he set out on his wonderful expedition in search of the *land of promise*. (105) But, according to the Irish accounts, they were undertaken from a port in Kerry, and had been terminated before he set out for Brittany. (106) Although the narrative of these voyages abounds with fables, (107) yet it may be admitted that Brendan sailed, in company with some other persons, towards the West, in search of some island or country, the existence of which he had heard of. (108) As to the result of the expedition, whether real or not, its duration, and the wonderful ad-

ventures said to have occurred, the reader will not expect any inquiry in this place. (109) How long St. Brendan remained in Brittany we are not informed; but it seems that he founded the great monastery of Clonfert (110) not long after his return thence to Ireland. For this monastery and several others connected with it he drew up a particular rule, which was so highly esteemed that it has been supposed to have been dictated by an Angel. (111) He is said to have presided over three thousand monks, partly at Clonfert, and partly in other houses of his institution in various parts of Ireland, (112) all of whom maintained themselves by the labour of their hands. (113) He established a nunnery at Enach-duin, over which he placed his sister Briga. (114). He is said also to have erected a cell in an island in that neighbourhood, called *Inis-mac-hua-Cuinn*, or *Inisquin*. (115) According to some writers Brendan was a bishop and the first at Clonfert; but it is more probable that he was not; (116) nor do any of our old writers give him that title, while they usually call him only *abbot*. (117) At a late period of his life he paid a visit to Columbkille in one of the Western isles off Scotland. (118) There is reason to think that, some years prior to his death, St. Brendan retired from Clonfert to a place of less bustle and care, perhaps to *Inisquin*. (119) This much is certain that he died in his sister's monastery at Enach-duin on the 16th of May in the year 577, and 94th of his age. (120) From that place his remains were conveyed to Clonfert, and there interred. (121) Besides the Monastic rule, some writings have been attributed to this saint, with an account of which, as they rest on very doubtful authority, (122) I shall not trouble the reader.

(91) Hanmer, *Chronicle, &c.* p. 107. *New Ed.* Usher seems to have thought that he was born at Clonfert; for he says (p. 533) that Brendan died there in *his own country*; "*Clonafartae in pa-*

tria sua obiit." Yet elsewhere (p. 955), when expressly treating of him, he does not call Clonfert the place of his birth, but merely of his residence, and tells us that he died at Enachduin in Con-naught.

(92) A passage of the Tripartite life of St. Patrick (*L. 3. c. 47*), already referred to, (*Chap. vi. §. 8*) is decisive on this point. In it we are informed, that St. Patrick being in the South of Ireland, foretold that the great Brendan would be born in West Munster, that is, Kerry. Hence Ware was right (*Antiq. cap. 29* at *Ard-fert* and *Writers* at Brandon) in making him a native of that country. (See also Harris, *Bishops at Ardfert*.) A very old tradition confirms this statement; and we find that the church of Ardfert was dedicated under his name. Keating (*Book 2*) calls him *Brendan Ardfeartha*. A writer of his life, quoted by Harris (*Writers ch. 15*) says that he was born in *Stagnili regione Mimenensium* (*Mumonansium*). Brandon hill has been so called from this saint. (See Smith's *History of Kerry*, p. 26.)

(93) *Tripart. loc. cit.* and *AA. SS. p. 89*.

(94) Usher, *Ind. Chron.*

(95) Ware having read *Ertus* for *Ercus*, was inclined to think that the prelate, who took Brendan under his care, was a bishop of Ardfert, particularly as Brendan was a native of Kerry. Harris imagined that the name *Ardfert* might have been derived from this bishop Ert, as if signifying the *High place of Ert*. But the bishop's real name was *Erc*, *Ercus*, or *Hercus*, as we find it more than once in the Acts of Brendan. (See *AA. SS. p. 74*) Hanmen calls him *Hercus*.

(96) See *Chap. viii. §. 4*. Ercus of Slane occasionally visited his relatives in Munster.

(97) In the Acts of Senan of Inniscatthy a bishop Ercus is mentioned as having been a disciple of his. But a disciple of Senan could not have been a bishop when Brendan was a boy. Colgan has (*AA. SS. p. 540*) Ercus a bishop at Domnach-mormuighe Luadhat in Hy-Faolain (the territory of the O'Phelans and part of the Decies in the county of Waterford); and (*Tr. Th. p. 544*) reckons among the relatives of St. Ercus of Slane a bishop Ercus of the noble house of Corb, which, as appears from other circumstances, resided in the Decies or Nandesi country. In Colgan's *Index* to *AA. SS.* Ercus the master of Brendan is

distinguished from Ercus of Slane; and yet (*p.* 309, *ib.*) he identifies them by making Brendan's master the same as the Ercus, who died A. D. 512 (513), viz. Ercus of Slane. (See *Not.* 30 to *Chap.* ix.)

(98) According to a Life of Brendan, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 74) he was only about six years old when Ercus took him under his care. If this be true, we must suppose that he spent several years with him, as many at least, as were requisite for completing his elementary studies.

(99) Iarlath of Tuam is reckoned, as has been seen, among the saints of the second class, and accordingly began to be distinguished after the year 540. Now, if we were to admit the above mentioned story, it would follow that he was dead by that time. Usher was so led astray by it that he made Iarlath flourish in the year 500 (*Ind. Chron.*) as indeed must have been the case if Brendan had, in his youth, been a scholar of his. In like manner that story induced Ware to state (*Bishops at Tuam*), that Iarlath flourished about the beginning of the sixth century. To this Harris added that Iarlath died about A. D. 540; because honest Colgan, in endeavouring to reconcile the story of Iarlath having been old, when Brendan was young, with the fact of his having belonged to the second class of saints, threw out a conjecture that he might have lived until that year. But, if he died so early, how could he have been placed among men, who began to be eminent about and after that very time? Or, if he was old and feeble at the beginning of the sixth century, are we to suppose that he was alive 40 years later? Ware was more correct, (*Writers at Iarlath*) where he says that he flourished in the year 550, as his Latin original has it; although (owing perhaps to an error of the press) the English translation, which has been followed by Harris, has 540. There is nothing more usual, nor at the same time more perplexing, at least to me, in many of the acts of our saints, than their making them either masters or pupils of certain eminent men in spite of the clearest chronological data.

(100) Acts of Finnian, *cap.* 19. (See *Not.* 66.)

(101) This celebrated virgin, of whom more will be seen hereafter, was greatly attached to St. Brendan, and seems to have been a

relation of his. Her nunnery of Cluatha-credhail, in the West of the county of Limerick, was near the place where Brendan was born. It is said that, when he was a year old, bishop Ercus placed him under her care, and that he was reared by her for five years. If there be any truth in this narrative, it must be understood of some time when St. Ita was still young and before she was old enough to preside over a nunnery. For, if we are to suppose that she was governing it, when Brendan was only a year old, viz. in the year 485; it will follow that she must have been born as far back as, at least, 460; whereas it will be admitted that, as abbess, she could not have been less than 25 years of age. Now, as St. Ita died in 570, it would follow, that she lived to the extraordinary age of 110; for which we have no authority. Accordingly what is said of the infant Brendan having been reared in her nunnery cannot stand; and indeed the whole matter, however explained, is very doubtful; although it is certain that a great intimacy existed between those two saints.

(102) Usher says (p. 582) that Brendan became abbot of Lhan-carvan, having succeeded Cadoc. This cannot be reconciled with the history of Cadoc's transactions (See *Chap. ix. §. 11.*) nor with what Usher himself admits, viz. that Cadoc's successor was Ellenius. (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 514.*) What he adds about Brendan having baptized St. Machut or Maclovius, who afterwards came bishop of Alethum or Aletha (near St. Malo) in Brittany, is very doubtful. Usher tells us that the child Machut was baptized in the country of Glamorgan and afterwards educated by Brendan. Now Lobineau states (*Hist. de Bretagne, Tom. 11. p. 75.*) that he was born in Brittany, as appears also from his Life by Sigebert of Gemblours (in Surius at November 15), in which we read that he was born "*citra oram Britanniei maris,*" that is, on the French side of the British sea, or of the sea of Brittany, this being the country meant throughout the whole Life, by Britannia. Then we are told that his father was a Count of the name of Guent, who founded the town called Gimicastrum. This was the same as Glemum castrum, *alias* Glemacum, now Gien, a town on the Loire in the diocese of Auxerre. (See H. Vales. *Not. Gall. at Glemum.*) If Maclovius was baptized by Brendan (of which, by the bye, there is nothing in the Life now referred to), it must have been, I believe, in that country, and in or near

Alectum; whereas, according to Lobineau, he was a native of the very district, of which he was afterwards bishop. That he was a disciple of Brendan is generally admitted. (See Mabillon *Sec. Bened. Tom. 1. p. 217.*) The Bollandists (at *Brendan 16th May*) ask, was there perhaps an Armorican Brendan? There is no necessity for searching for such a person; and it is to be observed that, among several other corresponding circumstances, the famous voyages, so much spoken of as performed by our Brendan, are ascribed to the master of St. Maclovius. Cressy (*B. xi. ch. 30.*) has confounded him with Brendan of B.J.T.

(103) Gildas retired to Brittany between, as seems most probable, the years 520 and 530, (See *Notes 167 and 168 to Chap. ix.*) and does not appear to have ever after returned to Great Britain. Brendan's departure from Brittany may be placed between 540 and 550. It was prior to the foundation of the monastery of Clonfert; and Brendan was residing somewhere near the ocean, seemingly in Kerry, when he determined on going to that country. The title of *father*, by which he is spoken of on that occasion, indicates that he was then far from being young. Gildas also was at that time a senior, although not yet very old. Add that Maclovius, who died, according to Lobineau, in 630, cannot be supposed to have been a pupil of Brendan earlier than not long before 550.

(104) Usher, *p. 955.* Ailech is evidently the ancient Alectum, of which St. Maclovius became bishop, and which was the episcopal see of that district, until it was removed to the present town of St. Malo. (See *Not. 75 to Chap. iv.*) Hence it is clear how Maclovius became a pupil of St. Brendan, as above. *Not. 102.*

(105) In St. Maclovius' life by Sigebert these voyages are placed after he had become a pupil of Brendan; and he is represented as having been one of the party of navigators.

(106) In the Acts of Brendan quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS. p. 74*) we are told that Brendan, having returned from that expedition, used to entertain St. Ita with relating to her his adventures, &c. Then lower down an account is given of the circumstances, which induced that saint to advise him to withdraw to a foreign country and spend some time there; and how, in obedience to that advice he went to Brittany. In Brendan's Acts he

is said to have set out in quest of the land of promise from the foot of the mountain, now called Brandon-hill, that is, I suppose from Brandon bay. (See Colgan, *AA. SS.* at 22 *Mart.*)

(107) Colgan (*loc. cit.*) admits that some parts of the history of that expedition are fabulous, but observe that it is spoken of in Irish documents of the eighth century.

(108) St. Barrinthus, and Mernoc a disciple of his, are said to have been in that country, and it is added that it was the account given of it by Barrinthus that induced Brendan to undertake his voyage. In that account it is represented as a Western country or island, but yet so large that, although they traversed it for 15 days they could not reach the end of it. The direction of Brendan's voyage is said to have been at first *contra solstitium aestivale*, by which, I dare say, was meant the North West point, alluding to the setting of the sun in summer. After 15 days sailing the wind ceased, and the navigators, although there was wind now and then, left the vessel to itself without minding or knowing its course. It might certainly have thus arrived in some part of America; and one would be almost inclined to think, that an idea was then entertained of the existence of a great Western tract of country, far distant from Ireland. It is said that Brendan laid in provisions for 50 days, which shows that the voyage was considered a long one.

(109) The voyages are said to have continued for seven years. Colgan (*Ind. Chron. ad AA. SS.*) places the commencement of them in 545. But if they were ever undertaken, Brendan must have set out some years earlier, whereas they were prior to his going to Brittany. And in his Acts it is related that, when arranging matters for the expedition, he paid a visit to St. Enda in Arran and received his benediction. Enda was, most probably, dead before that year. It is natural to suppose that Brendan was, at the time of undertaking such a perilous task, in the vigour of his age, and not yet sixty years old, as he was in the year 545.

(110) *Clonfert* or *Cluainfearta* signifies the *valley of miracles*. Ware (*Bishops and Antiq. cap. 26.*) assigns the foundation of this monastery to A. D. 558. The 4 Masters place it in 553 (554.) The Annals of Innisfallen have A. 562.

(111) Colgan writes (*AA. SS. p. 192*); "Erat hic celebratissime sanctitatis vir tam in hoc monasterio, quam in aliis plurimis sibi subjectis, trium millium monachorum pater, et Regulæ

monasticæ ab *Angelo dictatæ* conditor, ut habent Acta et de numero monachorum testantur Petrus de Natalibus," &c. St. Brendan's rule was observed for many centuries by his successors, according to what we read in his Life; "Illa usque hodie manet apud successores S. Brendani." The law or rule of Kieran and Brendan is mentioned more than once in the Ulster Annals, for this reason, it seems, as Nicholson remarks (*Irish Histor. Library, ch. 3.*) that a copy of both their rules was contained in one volume. Concerning the nature of those Irish rules see above *Not. 58.*

(112) See *Not. prec.* Usher, p. 910. Ware, *Ant. cap. 26.* &c.

(113) Ware, *loc. cit.*

(114) Ware, *loc. cit.* Enach-duin, since called *Enaghdune*, was in the district of Huabrain. (Usher, p. 955.) It is now called Annadown, and is situated near Lough Corrib in the county of Galway. In course of time it became a bishop's see but is now united to Tuam. (Usher *ib.* and Harris, *Bishops at Tuam.*) In opposition to a fact so well known Archdall says it was united to Clonfert.

(115) This island is in Lough Corrib, and was famous in the seventh century on account of its monastery, over which St. Meldan presided, and which might have been a continuation of Brendan's establishment.

(116) Ware (*Bishops at Clonfert*) has Moena first bishop of that see. The Ulster Annals, which he quotes, and those of the 4 Masters, place his death in the year, 571, and on the first of March; "Anno 570 (571) S. Moennius episcopus de Cluain-ferta S. Brendani obiit die 1. Marti." (See *AA. SS. p. 439.*) We have already seen (*Not. 17 to Chap. ix.*) how much Colgan was mistaken in thinking that he was the same as the abbot Monennus or Nennio master of Tigernach of Clonca. Harris, having followed Colgan, added (at *Clonfert*) some stuff, as usual, to Ware's correct account of Moena. He says Moena's real name was Nennio, and then tells the reader that Colgan has published his life. But the greatest part of this so called *life* or *Acts* (at *1. Mart.*) belongs not to bishop Moena but to the abbot Monennus, who was a very different person. Colgan has elsewhere (at *26 Feb.* a bishop Moen or Moena a Briton, who had come from Britanny with St. Brendan on his return to Ireland. It is very probable that he was the bishop of Clonfert. Yet a difficulty occurs from his festival being marked not at the 1st of March but 26th of February. Whether they were the same or not, neither

of them is to be confounded with an abbot Mainus, who is said (*AA. SS. p. 414*) to have lived and died in Brittany.

(117 The only passage of our ancient documents, in which I find any thing seeming to indicate that Brendan was a bishop, is one of the Calendar of Cashel (*ap AA. SS. p. 439*), where Moena is called bishop of Clonfert, and Comorban of St. Brendan. Now, as *Comorban* means *successor*, it would seem as if Brendan had been bishop there before Moena. Colgan, who was of this opinion, endeavoured to explain the matter by saying that Brendan resigned the see to Moena, reserving to himself the care of his monasteries. But it is very odd that, while our Annalists and hagiologists make mention of Moena as a bishop, they do not give that title to the far more celebrated Brendan. I suspect there is some mistake in that passage, and that the author's meaning was that Moena was a cooperator with Brendan in the ecclesiastical government of the establishment of Clonfert, and that he had been consecrated bishop for that purpose through his recommendation. Such a great institution, and in which a vast number of young men was educated for the service of the Church, required the assistance and presence of a bishop, in the same manner as there used to be a bishop in Columbkil's monastery of Hy. Or, taking the passage as it now stands, it may be understood of Moena's having succeeded Brendan not as bishop but as abbot; in which case we must suppose that Brendan retired, some years before his death, from the administration of Clonfert, leaving it to Moena, who thus, besides the care of the see, became charged with that of the monastery. And it must be recollected, that the name *Comorban* used to be given to the successors not only of bishops, but likewise of abbots. I find indeed Brendan expressly called a bishop in a Life of St. Furseus (16 Jan.): but as it was patched up at a very late period, as Colgan admits, probably about the 12th century, its authority is of little weight. As Clonfert was an episcopal see and had been one since St. Brendan's time, it might have thence, through mistake, been concluded that he had been bishop there. In the Life of St. Ita (15 Jan.) which is really ancient, and in which his name occurs several times, he is called by no higher title than Brendan *abbot in Connaught*.

(118) Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 3. c. 17. Colgan's ed.* and 12. Messingham,) writes; "Alio in tempore quatuor ad sanctum visitandum Columbam monasteriorum sancti fundatores de

Scotia transmeantes in Hymba eum invenerunt insula, quorum industria vocabula Comgellus Mocu-Aridi, Cahhnechus Mocu-Dalon, Brendenus Mocu-alti, Cormac nepos Liethain. Brendenus was the Brendan not of Birr, but of Clonfert, whereas, besides Brendan of Birr, the particular friend of Columbkille, being already (*ib. cap. 11. al. 8.*) mentioned as dead, he is surnamed *Mocu-alti*, i. e. of the family of Hua Alta, to which he belonged. And O'Donnel in a parallel passage (*L. 2. c. 106*) calls him Brendan of Clonfert. This visit must have taken place after the year 563. It may be here observed that Adamnan, who is very particular in giving persons their proper titles, does not call Brendan a bishop either in the passage now quoted, or where he speaks of him again in the same chapter.

(119) See *Not. 117* and *AA. SS. p. 271*.

(120) Usher, *p. 955* and *Ind. Chron.* The Annals of Innisfallen and 4 Masters have A. 576, (*AA. SS. p. 193*) which comes to the same point. Poor Archdall, who seems never to have understood their mode of computation, retained (at *Clonfert*) the 576.

(121) Usher, *ib.*

(122) Such authors as Bale and Dempster are not worth attending to. If any one choose, let him consult Ware and Harris (Writers) and Nicholson (*Ir. H. Libr. ch. 4*). An Irish hymn in praise of St. Brigid was supposed to have been composed by St. Brendan. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 609*) holds that the author of it was Columbkille.

§. VIII. The other Brendan, who, from the place of his monastery is known by the name of *Brendan of Birr*, was probably born later than the former, although he died before him. He is usually called son of Luaigene, (123) and is stated to have been of a distinguished family of Munster. (124) Concerning his younger days I can discover no particulars, (125) prior to his name appearing among those of the chief disciples of Finnian of Clonard, and in a manner which shews that he was highly esteemed for his sanctity and supernatural gifts. (126) He was intimate with the two Kierans, (127) Brendan

of Clonfert, and chiefly with Columbkille, to whom, as will be seen hereafter, he was very serviceable on a certain important occasion. At what precise time he founded his monastery at Birr (128) is not recorded; but there can be no doubt of its having been established some years prior to A. D. 563, the year in which Columbkille left Ireland, (129) and perhaps before 550. (130) He died on the 29th of November A. D. 571; (131) and his exit was revealed to Columbkille, then in Hy, at the very time it happened. (132) In one of the lives of the latter it is said that St. Brendan had composed some verses concerning his virtues and exemplary conduct. (133) It is certain that those two saints had a great esteem for each other.

(123) Usher having, with Ware and others, so called him (*p.* 955) corrects himself (*p.* 1064) by saying; "For *Luaighe* read *Neim* or *Nemaid* a famous poet." Archdall (at *Birr*) jumbling the whole together calls him "Brendan Luagneus son of Neim, or Némaid, and a favourite poet," thus making Brendan himself the poet. Yet Usher in his *Ind. Chron.* (ad A. 571) again calls him son of Luaighe, and even refers to *p.* 1064.

(124) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 544) reckons him among the relations of St. Ercus of Slane and the descendants of prince Corb, who resided in Munster, and in that part of it called the Decies. (See *Not.* 97.)

(125) His Acts, which Colgan intended to publish at the 29th of November, have not, as far as I know, appeared as yet. And the scraps from them, which he has given here and there, are so few and insignificant that scarcely any thing worth while can be gleaned from them. Usher has left us but four or five lines concerning this saint; and, what is very singular, Ware makes no mention of him except at *Writers*.

(126) In the list of Finnian's principal disciples (*Acts of Finnian, cap.* 19.) he is thus characterized; "Brandanus Biorra, qui *propheta* in scholis illis et etiam sanctorum Hiberniensium habebatur."

(127) In the first life of Kieran of Saigir (*cap.* 33) Brendan is

spoken of as a friend of his. Hence Colgan drew a most strange conclusion, that he had been a disciple of St. Patrick, and has put him down as such in *Tr. Th. p.* 268; as if, because the story tellers had made Kieran contemporary with our Apostle, Brendan likewise must have been so. Colgan might with equal justice have argued, that Brendan of Clonfert, and even Kieran of Clonmacnois, who was born very many years after St. Patrick's death, had been disciples of his; for in the very same chapter they also are mentioned as friends of Kieran of Saigir, as likewise of Brendan of Birr.

(128) The reader need not be informed that Birr is a town now in the King's county. It was formerly considered to be in Munster; and hence Colgan has (*Ind. Topogr. ad AA. SS.*); "*Birra monasterium in Elia in Mumonia.*"

(129) St. Brendan was a distinguished abbot, when a circumstance occurred relative to Columbkil's proceedings in Ireland. (See Adamnan *L. 3. c. 2. M.'s ed.*) In said chapter we read; "*Brendanus illius monasterii fundator, quod Scotice Birra nuncupatur,*" &c.

(130) It is very probable that Brendan was an abbot before the death of his friend Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in 549. (See below *Not. 28 to Chap. XI.*) The 4 Masters (*AA. SS. p.* 192.) relate that Brendan surnamed *Biorra* was seen rising into the air in the year 553 (554). Hence it would appear, that he was supposed to be at Birr by that time. This anecdote, which is similar to many others mentioned in the lives of saints, has been embellished by Archdall, who makes the saint ascend in a chariot.

(131) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Colgan, *AA. SS. p.* 193. Ware (at *Writers*) has 572, from, I suppose, the Annals of Innisfallen, which have A. 571. Ware thought that in this case, as in some others, they anticipated the vulgar era by one year. But it does not appear, that this mode of computation is regularly observed in those annals. Archdall (at *Birr*) has, from what he calls the Munster annals, a story concerning Brendan having lived 300 years, derived, I believe, from his having been confounded with Kieran of Saigir, whose father was, as well as Brendan's, called *Lugneus* or *Luaigne*. (See *Chap. 1. §. 14.*)

(132) Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 8.*

(133) O'Donnel, *Life of St. Columba*, L. 3. c. 41. See also Ware, *Writers*, at *Brendan*.

§. IX. Contemporary with the two Brendans was St. Iarlath of Tuam, who is placed next after them in the second class of saints. (134) He was son of Loga or Lughus of the noble house of Conmacnie, (135) and was born probably about the beginning of the sixth century. He is said to have been a disciple of St. Benignus of Armagh, and even to have received holy orders from him; (136) but this is a palpable mistake and quite irreconcilable with the periods, in which they lived. (137) From this mistake flowed another, viz. that of representing him as old when Brendan of Clonfert was young; (138) as indeed would have been the case had he been ordained priest by Benignus. His first establishment is supposed to have been at Cluanfois, (139) where he formed a monastery and a school, which was resorted to by several students, among whom is reckoned Colman son of Lenine. (140) Thence, by the advice it seems of St. Brendan of Clonfert, (141) he removed to Tuam, where being a bishop, he established his see. Whether he was consecrated before or after his settling there cannot be decided; but it is certain, that he was the first bishop of Tuam, (142) where his memory has been ever since highly venerated, and the cathedral dedicated in his name. (143) Certain prophecies concerning his successors have been attributed to this saint, but they do not bear sufficient marks of genuineness. (144) The year of his death is not known. The day marked for it in several of our Calenders is the 26th of December. (145) He was buried at Tuam, not in the cathedral but in a chapel called *Scrín*, or *Shrine*.

(134) He is there called *Iairlathia Tuam*.

(135) Several districts in the Western parts of Ireland went under the name of *Conmacnie*. Harris (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) has among

them a Connacne de Kinel Dubhain, since called *Connacne de Dunmor* in the county of Galway, now the barony of Downamore. As Tuam is in this barony, the Connacne, in which Iarlath's family resided, was probably that now mentioned.

(136) Colgan (*Iarluth's Acts*, 11 February) refers for these stories to the Life of Benignus, and has been followed by Harris, (*Bishops at Tuam.*)

(137) Benignus died in the year 468. How could Iarlath, who, as belonging to the second class of saints, did not become distinguished until about 540, have been a disciple of his? Or are we to believe what is said in said Life of his having received holy orders from Benignus, and being placed over a church by him? In this supposition we should admit that he was born, at the latest, in 438; whereas he must have been, at least, 30 years old, when ordained priest and appointed to the care of a congregation. This fable was built upon its having been recorded that Benignus had preached in Connacne, and other parts of the West. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 1.*) Now as Iarlath was a native of that country, it was thought not wrong to throw him into the number of the disciples of Benignus.

(138) See *Not. 99.*

(139) There was a place of that name not far from Tuam, and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 308*) says it was *thought* to be that of Iarlath's first monastery. Harris and Archdall have a monastery there, as if the matter were certain. As to the time of said monastery Harris was quite mistaken in assigning it to the 5th century; Archdall comes nearer the truth, placing it about A. D. 540. If it was founded at that time, it is probable that it continued for many years later.

(140) Colman is represented (*AA. SS. p. 309*) as a grown up man, when he went to Iarlath's school. He lived, as will be seen elsewhere, until, at least, the year 601. Now if it be true that he studied under Iarlath, we must bring down that school to, at least, 560, the year in which Ware (*Writers*) says that Iarlath flourished. (See *Not. 99.*)

(141) It is thus, I believe, we are to understand what is said of Brendan directing him to go somewhat to the East, and foretelling that his resurrection would be at Tuam.

(142) I call him merely *bishop* of Tuam, because that see did

not become archiepiscopal until some centuries after the death of St. Iarlath.

(143) Colgan quotes (*A.A. SS. p. 310*) the following passage from the Catalogue of the churches of the diocese of Tuam; "*Ecclesia cathedralis Tuamensis, sita Tuamiae, vocatur Tempull Iarlaithe, dicata S. Hierlatio primo episcopo Tuamensi, antequam haec sedes in archiepiscopalem erigeretur.*"

(144) Even Colgan has his doubts concerning them. See *A.A. SS. p. 309.* and Ware and Harris (*Writers.*)

(145) The festival of St. Iarlath was and is still observed in the diocese of Tuam on the 6th of June. Colgan justly remarks that this might be owing to its having been transferred to that day, to prevent its clashing with the feast of St. Stephen. He has given Iarlath's Acts at the 11th of February, not that he thought this was the day of his death, but because Marian Gorman has a St. Iarlath at said day. It is plain that this calendariet, who mentions only one Iarlath, meant St Iarlath archbishop of Armagh.

§. x. In the list of the saints of the second class Comgall, Coemgen, and Kieran are placed next after Iarlath. The order of time requires our treating first of Coemgen, then of Kieran, and thirdly of Comgall, if it be true that St. Coemgen lived to the great age of 120 years; whereas, in this supposition, he should have been born in the year 498. Be this as it may, (146) Coemgen or, as his name is written at present, *Kevin*, (147) was of an illustrious family in the territory of Tirtuathal, the country of the O'Tooles. His father's name was *Coemlog*; and his mother, who was of the princely house of Dal Messincorb, was called *Coemella*. (148) They were Christians, whereas we find it related that Coemgen was, when a child, baptized by Cronan a priest. (149) At the age of seven years he was placed under Petrocus a learned and holy Briton, with whom he remained for five years. (150) Being now twelve years old his parents consigned him to the care of three holy elders Eogan, Lechan, and

Enna, to be educated by them in their monastery or school, in which he applied himself diligently to his studies during three years. (151) Next it is said that he became a disciple of Beonanus a hermit, and afterwards of a bishop Lugidus, who ordained him priest. (152) By the advice of this bishop he is said to have founded a monastery for himself at a place called *Chuain-duach*. (153) Then leaving some of his monks there he repaired to his own country, and formed his chief establishment at Glendáloch, (154) whence in his time or afterwards were derived several other religious houses in Leinster. At what time that monastery was founded is not recorded; but it must have been before A. D. 549, if it be true that he was abbot there when he went to pay a visit to Kieran at Clonmacnois, where he did not arrive until three days after Kieran's death. (155) It is related that on a certain occasion he visited also the three holy abbots Columb, Comgal, and Cainnich, then assembled at Usneach in Meath. (156) Having well arranged the order and discipline of this institution at Glendáloch, he retired (at what period of his life is not mentioned) to the upper part of the valley about a mile from the monastery, and there in a small place, beset with thick trees and refreshed by rivulets, led the life of a hermit for four years, practising the greatest austerities, until at length his monks prevailed on him to return to the monastery. (157) It is said, that when far advanced in years he intended to undertake a long journey, but was dissuaded from so doing by Garbhan a hermit, (158) who told him "that it was more becoming for him to fix himself in one place than to ramble here and there in his old age, as he could not but know that no bird could hatch her eggs while flying." On his end approaching he received the holy viaticum from St. Mochuorog a Briton, who had a cell to the east of Glendáloch. (159) St. Coemgen died on the 3d of June A. D. 618. (160) Although this saint was

most probably not a bishop, yet Glendaloch became not long, it seems, after his death an episcopal see, in consequence of a city having soon grown up near the monastery. (161) Some writings have been attributed to him, but except perhaps a monastic rule, without sufficient authority. (162) How great the reputation of St. Coemgen has been appears from the vast concourse of persons, who for many centuries have continued to repair on the anniversary of his death to Glendaloch, there to celebrate his festival. (163).

(146) The only reason I can discover for placing this saint's birth in 498 is, that he is said to have lived 120 years. As he died in 618, it became necessary to go back for his birth to that year. Yet there are strong motives for doubting of his having been born so early. A brother of his St. Mocuemín, (See *AA. SS.* p. 586) was a disciple of Columba son of Crimthann (*ib.* p. 350) and abbot of Tirdaglas. Now this Columba had been a disciple of Finnian at Clonard and probably did not found his monastery until about A. D. 540. Next, among some nephews of St. Coemgen, by his sister Coeltigerna, or, as some call her, Coemacá, we find St. Dagan of Inverdaoile, who lived until 640, and who does not appear to have reached a very great age. Supposing Dagan to have been born in 565, it is not easy to believe that he was the nephew of a man who was then 67 years old, unless we are to admit a very uncommon disparity between the ages of the saint and his sister. Now it is certain, that Dagan was really a nephew of Coemgen. In the Irish metrical acts of St. Brigid there is a very obscure passage concerning Coemgen, which Colgan has thus translated: "*Accesserat ad praelium Coemginus celebris; nivem per tempestatem agitat ventus: Glinndalachæ sustinuit crucem, ita ut repererit requiem post tribulationes.*" This passage has, no apparent connexion with what we find in the context as to St. Brigid, unless it should be considered as a sort of comparison between the watchfulness of the two saints. If the author alluded to a transaction in St. Brigid's life time, Coemgen would, according to him, have been a grown up man before her death, and so might justly be supposed to have been born in 498. The

whole matter, however, is so obscure, that I shall say no more about it.

✓(147) *Coemgen* or *Coemhgen*, which signifies *Pulcher genitus* or *Fair begotten* (Usher p. 956) is the same name as *Kevin*, being thus pronounced in Irish. The letter *M* with the aspirate annexed (either *H* or a point) sounds like *V*. The diphthong *OE* has been generally modified into the single sound *E*. The letter *G* aspirated in the middle of a word almost loses its sound, as in *Tighearna* which becomes *Tierna*. (Vallancey, *Irish grammar*, at *G*.) It is scarcely necessary to add that the Irish *C* was always the same as *K*. I would not trouble the reader with these petty remarks, were I not forced to do so by the impudent and ridiculous quibbles of Ledwich, who in a sort of chapter, full of lies and ignorance, has entered into some details concerning *Coemhgen* and *Glendaloch*. He says (p. 35) that the name *Coemhgen* was unknown until after the 13th century, and would fain make us believe that it meant not a man but a mountain. And why? Because Giraldus Cambrensis, instead of that name, writes *Keiwin* or *Keivin*, and because in the life of St. Berachus it is spelled not *Coemgen* but *Koemin*, *Coemin*, and even *Caymin*. But are not these in reality all one and the same name, and applied by the authors, to whom Ledwich refers, to the celebrated abbot of Glendaloch? Suppose a person, treating of our mighty antiquary, should write his name *Leadwich*, as an ingenious author, who conceals himself under the signature *Anonymous*, has done; or that even it were written *Leadwig*, it would be immediately understood as the name of the antiquary; unless some one should be so foolish as to think that it was not the name of a man, but of a compound of lead and wig, taking, agreeably to a very usual trope, *wig* for what is contained under it. Similar to this folly is the Doctor's mode of arguing. He was striving to show, that St. Coemgen was neither a saint nor a man, but a mere mountain in the county of Wicklow. And thus he proceeds; "*Keun* is the name of many mountains in Wales noticed by Camden." Then he refers us to Lhuyd (*Adversar.*) who reckons *Ceun*, a Welsh word meaning *back*, among those that enter in the names of mountains. Pray what has this to do with St. Coemgen? It has, says the antiquary, "because the mountain *Keun* at Glendaloch was metamorphosed into St. Kevin." But

where is the mountain Keun at Glendaloch? And is it thus that this barefaced quack has the effrontery to substitute his lies for history! Or is an accidental likeness between the Welsh word *Cewn* and the name *Kevin* to be received as a proof of the non-existence of a person of the highest reputation, and who is mentioned over and over in numberless documents long prior to the Doctor's 13th century.

✓ (148) *AA. SS.* p. 584–586. Harris, *Writers at St. Coemgen*. Ledwich takes fire (p. 35) at the account given by our genealogists of the family, whence this saint was sprung. He says that “to believe that a barbarous people, *naked and ignorant as American Indians*, should have preserved the pedigree of St. Kevin, is too much for the most stupid credulity.” The audacity of this pseudo-antiquary is intolerable. So then in the latter end of the fifth century and in the sixth, when St. Kevin's relatives lived, the Irish were still savages. How then did he forget himself so much as to give a pompous account (p. 159. *seqq.*) of the Irish schools and studies not only in the sixth century, but as far back as the middle of the fifth? Or how could he reconcile that barbarous state of Ireland with his praises of the Asiatic and Greek missionaries, whom he brings at a very early period to Ireland. (See *Chap.* 1. §. 5.) and with his telling us (p. 357) that there was certainly a Christian church in Ireland in the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, and that letters were then known and cultivated here? This incoherent charlatan changes his positions according as suits his convenience. When he wishes to keep out Rome and Palladius, and, above all, St. Patrick from any interference with the early christianity of Ireland, he represents the Irish as Christians and civilized long before any one from Rome came among us; but when he takes it into his head to drive a saint, ex. c. Kevin, not only out of the calendar but likewise out of existence, he describes them as naked and the greatest of savages even in the sixth century. As to the recording of genealogies, it did not require any great degree of learning, but was practised by the most ancient nations chiefly of the East, from some of whom, together with many other practices, it was derived to the Irish, with whom, as none but an incorrigible sceptic will dare to deny, it was a favourite sort of study. Strange that Ledwich, who is so fond of the Asiatics, could express a disbelief of it, and did not rather use

it as an argument to prove, that we had been instructed by Eastern missionaries. The English translator of Ware's *Writers* has (at *ch.* 19) by a huge blunder made Coemlog a plebeian, because it is said that he lived "in *plebe via*. Dalmeehooel," that is in the district called by that name.

(149) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 498

(150) Usher, *ib.* ad A. 505. and p. 10. 8. We have already met with Petzocus (*Chap.* ix. §. 12.), and Usher reckons the 20 years, which he is said to have spent in Ireland, from 498 to 518. His reason for assigning them to this period was, I believe, its being said that Coemgen had been a scholar of his. But, as we have seen, (*Not.* 146) it may be justly doubted whether Coemgen was born as early as 498.

(151) Usher, p. 958, and *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 510. Instead of *Eogan*, one of those elders, Harris has (*Bishops at Glendaloch* p. 379) *Dogain*, owing probably to an error of the press. Hence Archdall also has the same name (at *Glendaloch*.) Concerning him and the other two masters of Coemgen nothing further is known; but it may be fairly supposed that they lived not far distant from the residence of his family.

(152) Harris, *Writers at Coemgen*, from a *MS. Life*, which he had got from Louvain. Supposing St. Coemgen to have been born in 498, I know of no bishop Lugidus, by whom he could have been ordained, when arrived at the proper age for priesthood, except Lugadius (same name, I dare say, as *Lugidus*) bishop of Connor. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 13.) But how account for Coemgen's going so far from his own country as the diocese of Connor? There might have been a Leinster bishop Lugidus in the days of Coemgen's youth; and that name was formerly very common in Ireland.

(153) Harris (*loc. cit.*) distinguishes this place from Glendaloch; but Hanmer, who also had a *Life of St. Coemgen* makes it the same and tells us, (*Chronicle*, &c. p. 126. *New Ed.*) that Glendaloch was of old called *Cluayn-duach*.

✓ (154) Harris, *loc. cit.* Ledwich, to make a display of his learning, says (*Ant.* p. 53) that *Glendaloch* or rather *Glendalough* seems to be an Anglo-Saxon compound, and that the name was derived from the first Firbolgian possessors of the valley, viz. the Tuathals or O'Tooles. So then those Firbolgians were Anglo-

Saxons! Oh! mighty antiquary! On this stupid statement it is sufficient to observe, that *Glendalough* is, both as a compound word and in its parts, downright Irish, consisting of *Glen*, valley, *da* two, and *lough* lake. The Doctor need not have gone further than Johnson's dictionary to learn that *glen* and *lough* are originally Irish words, which as well as very many others, have crept into the English language. The place has very appropriately been so called from there being two lakes in the valley. From this circumstance Hoveden (as Harris observes, *Bishops* p. 371) latinized the name of the see, afterwards established there, into *Episcopus Bistagniensis*.

(155) Harris *loc. cit.* Usher p. 956 and *Ind. Chron.* ad A. 549. I suspect that Coemgen was not an abbot at that time. Yet, not having his Life, I cannot decide on this point.

(156) This visit is placed by Harris (*loc. cit.*) prior to Coemgen's going to Clonmacnois. But it is plain that it must have been some years later, whereas Comgall, as will be seen lower down, was not an abbot, until, at the earliest, A. D. 555.

(157) Harris, *loc. cit.*

(158) This Garbhan, who is called the son of Lugadius to distinguish him from other persons of the same name, had been a disciple of Coemgen and lived near where Dublin is now situated. His memory was revered on the 9th of July. *AA. SS.* p. 751.

(159) It can scarcely be doubted that this was the St. Mogoroc of Delgany mentioned above, *Not.* 202 to *Chap.* VIII. And hence we see that this saint lived in the 7th century.

(160) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The Four masters have A. 617, which, according to their mode of computation, was the same year. Usher, (p. 956) adds *or the year 622*. If this was the real year of St. Coemgen's death, it will follow that he was born in 502 or late in 501, supposing that he lived unto the age of 120 years. (See *Not.* 146.)

(161) In Coemgen's life we read; "In ipso loco clara et religiosa civitas in honore S. Coemgeni crevit, quae nomine praedictae vallis, in qua ipsa est, *Gleandaloch* vocatur." (See Usher, p. 956.) Colgan treats (at 8 *Mart.*) of St. Libba or Molibba a nephew of St. Coemgen, and calls him bishop of Glendaloch. If he was really such, the antiquity of that see can be traced to the early part of the 7th century; nor do I find any sufficient reason

to controvert Colgan's assertion. As to St. Coetngen, there is nothing in his Life to induce us to think that he also belonged to the episcopal order; but, as the see was ancient, and he the founder of the monastery that gave rise to it, some writers thought that he had been bishop there.

(162) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Coeingen*. Archdall says (at *Glendalough*) that he wrote a Life of St. Patrick. Where he got his information I cannot discover.

✓ (163) The mighty Ledwich says (*Antiq. p. 46*) that the 9th century was the era of the saintship of St. Kevin. He had already told us that St. Coemgen was not known until after the thirteenth. (See *Not. 147.*) Then he strives to amuse the reader with some legendary stories concerning the saint, as if to prove that, because said stories are unworthy of belief, he never existed. And, to show his deep and exotic learning, he refers to Giraldus Cambrensis, Brompton, and; wonderful to think, even to an Icelandic MS. But do not those very stories prove that St. Coemgen or Kevin was supposed to have been a real person? According to our antiquary's mode of arguing we would be authorized to doubt of the existence of very many of the most celebrated characters of old times; in consequence of the fables, which have been intermixed with their history. In his dull irreligious manner, after placing the saintship, as he calls it, of St. Kevin in the 9th century, he adds, that in the same age St. James was given to Spain and St. Andrew to Scotland. Pray does he believe, that there were such persons as the Apostles James and Andrew? It is difficult to guess at what he believed.

§. XI. Following the order of time, that is, of the years, as far as they can be discovered, in which our saints were born, we have now to treat of St. Kieran of Clonmacnois. (164) This great saint was a native of the province of Meath, although his parents, Beoan and Darerca, were originally from Ulster. (165) He is usually called the son of the carpenter, as his father was of that trade. The year of his birth is variously stated; but the most probable account seems to be that, which assigns it to A. D. 507. (166) Kieran is said to have received his early education under a St. Justus. (167)

by whom, according to some accounts, he had been baptized. (168) When rather adult and properly qualified for applying to the higher sort of studies, he became a disciple of Finnian at Clonard. (169) How long he remained at his school we are not informed; but we may justly suppose that it was not for a short time, and that Kieran did not leave Clonard until he was well grounded in ecclesiastical learning. Thence, having received a certificate from Finnian together with his blessing, he repaired to the monastery of St. Nennidius in one of the islands of Lough Erne. (170) This saint, who was surnamed *Laobh-dearc*, and whom we had already an occasion of mentioning, (171) had been also a disciple of Finnian, (172) and, while at his school, might have become acquainted with Kieran. Having founded his monastery in that island called *Ints-muigh-samh*, where, or in a neighbouring district, he became also a bishop, (173) it is not improbable that he invited Kieran to spend some time with him and to assist him in the management of his institution. Kieran was received by him with great joy and remained for some in his monastery. Wishing to improve himself still further in the knowledge and observance of monastic discipline, he went to the great monastery of the Isle of Arran. St. Enda, who still governed it, received him very kindly and employed him for seven years in threshing corn for the use of the community. During that period he was considered as a pattern of piety and sanctity; and Enda is said to have had some visions relative to the extraordinary merit of Kieran, and the number of religious houses, which in course of time would belong to his institution. (174) At the expiration of those seven years he removed, according to one account, to Inniscatthy, where he was charged by St. Senan with the care of providing for strangers. (175) But his liberality to the poor was so great, that he incurred the displeasure of some of the monks, and

accordingly thought it adviseable to quit that monastery. (176) He then proceeded to an island of Lough-rie called *Aingin* or *Angina*, (177) where, having erected a monastery, he was soon surrounded by a vast number of excellent monks. This was his first establishment, the commencement of which is placed by Usher in the year 544. (178) I should rather place it in 542, as thus we will have the seven years, during which, as we are told on good authority, that Kieran was an abbot. (179) He governed that establishment until the year 548, when, leaving the care of it to Adomnan or Doimnan a Munster man, he removed to the Western bank of the Shannon, and on a site granted to him by King Dermot founded the great monastery of Clonmacnois. (180) The ground had belonged to Diermit before he became king of all Ireland; but he was already on the throne when Kieran obtained from him as much of it as was necessary for erecting a church and monastery. This prince had a great esteem for St. Kieran, who, it is said, had foretold to him his accession to the sovereignty. At the request of the saint he laid with his own hands the first part of the foundation. It is added that he made a grant of three or four other spots of ground for the use of the establishment. (181) St. Kieran did not long survive the erection of Clonmacnois, having been removed, in the prime of life, to a better world on the 9th of September, A. D. 459. (549) (182) His death was occasioned by a dreadful pestilence, which raged in that year. (183) This saint, although he had risen no higher than to the rank of a priest, (184) was reckoned among the Fathers of the Irish church. (185) His institution, for which he had drawn up a particular rule, (186) was extended after his death to a great number of religious houses; and his memory has been most highly revered, not only in Ireland but likewise in Scotland. (187)

(164) As this St. Kieran was much more celebrated than the one of Saigir, there can be no doubt that he was the person

meant by the author of the catalogue. He omitted the other Kieran as well as many other saints of that period, naming only such as were more generally spoken of. It is proper to caution the reader against an error of the press in the London or folio edition, p. 474 of Usher's *Primordia*, where in the list of the second class *Ceranus* occurs instead of *Cemanus*. This erratum might induce a person at first sight to think, that Kieran of Saigir was mentioned in that list. The sequel, however, shows that the name was *Cemanus*.

(165) Kieran's Acts, *cap.* 1. and Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 181. To his having been a native of Meath Colgan refers a prophecy attributed to St. Patrick, in which it is said (*ib.* p. 145) that Kieran would be born in the southern parts, that is, relatively to Armagh. This prophecy is mentioned by Jocelin, *cap.* 113. Whether it was pronounced or not is of little consequence; but the denomination of *southern parts* seems to shew that Kieran's birth place was not only in Meath but in a district of it far to the south of Armagh; and it is very probable that it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of where he afterwards established his great monastery of Clonmacnois. This tract was comprized in the ancient Meath. Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) say that he was of the sept of the Arads, or of a family from the part of Ulster called Dalaradia. This however does not prevent his having been born in Meath.

(166) The Annals of Innisfallen, which are usually very correct and consistent, have, "A. 506 (507) Nativitas Ciarani filii artificis." Usher calculated that he was born in 516, because he had read in the *Book of Navan* that he lived only 33 years. (See *Pr.* p. 909 and 957.) If this were true, Usher's calculation would be right, because it is well known that Kieran died in 549. The authority, however, of that book is of little weight, and it is more than probable, that those 33 years were merely guessed at to make his life of the same length with that of our Saviour, as is observed in said book. In Kieran's Life it was remarked that he died rather young; and thence a conjecture was started that his age might have been 33. The Annals of Ulster in Johnston's Extracts (after *Antiq. Celto. Norm. &c.*) place his birth in 511 (512). This date would give us 37 years for the whole life of Kieran, which number of years is little enough to enable us to

account for his various transactions and for the extraordinary estimation, in which he was held before his death. Yet these points can be better explained in the supposition that he was born in 507; as in this case he would have lived to the age of 42, which while sufficient for the purposes now alluded to, was not long enough for ranking him among persons much advanced in years.

(167) *AA. SS.* p. 113.

(168) In the Tripartite (*L. 2. c. 49.*) this Justus is called a Deacon, and is said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick.

(169) Kieran's Life, *cap. 19.* He is mentioned also in the Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.* and is the first named in the list of Finnian's eminent scholars; "Kieranus filius artificis, qui *Mac an Tsaoir* dicitur." See more in *AA. SS.* p. 113.

(170) In Kieran's life, *cap. 7.* we find the following passage: "Sanctus enim Kieranus transacta temporis spatio, accepta magistris sui *licentia* et benedictione, ad S. Ninnidium, in quadam sylva stagni Erne commorantem, properavit." Usher, (*p. 1064*) quotes a similar passage from a somewhat different Life. The words, *accepta-licentia*, are in both of them, alluding, I believe, to a certificate or testimonial of learning and good conduct, such as that given in universities to deserving students, who are thence called *licentiates*. Usher places Kieran's departure from Finnian's school in the year 530. (*Ind. Chron.*) This date ill accords with that assigned by him for the birth of Kieran. For, in his hypothesis, Kieran would have then been only 14 years of age. Who will believe that he was so young at a time when he had completed his theological studies, and was probably already a monk? In what is said of him on his arrival at the monastery of Nennidius he appears as such. He was, I dare say, much more than 14 years old, when he first went to Finnian's school; whereas, besides its being related that he was then grown up, *adulioris ætatis*, it can scarcely be supposed that he was less than 18 or 20 when properly qualified for the biblical and theological studies cultivated at Clonard. I am inclined to think, that Kieran did not leave that school as early as 530; and for this reason that it seems not to have been established until about said year or not long before it. (See *Chap. ix. §. 8.*) If a conjecture be allowed, the year of Kieran's departure may be supposed to have been 533 or 534, supposing that he had spent three or four years there. At this time

Kieran would have been 26 or 27 years old, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, an age very usual for the completion of theological studies. But had he been born in 516, as Usher states, he would have been only 17 or 18, an age too premature for such an object. On the other hand, the accounts given of Kieran's subsequent transactions require, that his leaving Finnian's school be not placed later than about A. D. 534.

(171) *Chap. ix. §. 5.*

(172) *Finnian's Acts, cap. 19.* Hence, as before observed (*Not. 80 to Chap. ix.*) it appears how much Colgan was mistaken in confounding him with Nennidius Lamhglan.

(173) Colgan treating (at 18 Jan.) of Nennidius quotes an Irish distich, in which he is called Doctor and Bishop. It is added that he was a descendant of king Leogaire, having been a great grandson of his by his father's side, as Colgan collects from old genealogical tables. He was highly respected, and is reckoned among the chief founders of the Irish monasteries. That his monastic establishment was in the above mentioned island is generally admitted; but as to his episcopal see some of our Calendarists place it at Donmach-mor in Magh-one, a place to the South of the river Erne, stretching between the lake and the bay of Donegal; There does not appear to have been a monastery in this place, although Archdall has it in his Monasticon under *Fermanagh*. The probability is that Nennidius, having governed for some time the monastery in the island, was raised to the episcopal dignity and entrusted with the care of the district, lying along part of the southern bank of Lough Erne and thence to the West. Colgan (*Ird. Chron. ad A.A. SS.*) makes him a bishop in the year 522. This is a mistake, founded on the supposition that he was the same as Nennidius Lamh-glan the contemporary of St. Brigid. Archdall says (at *Justis-mac-saint*) that he died in 528 or 580. As to 528, there is no authority whatsoever, except a conjecture (*ap A.A. SS. p. 114*) that Lamh-glan died in that year. But, as he was a different person; it has nothing to do with the Nennidius we are now treating of. And as to 580, the foundation for this date is still more pitiful. Colgan quoted Usher as stating (*Ird. Chron.*) that Nennidius was living in the island in 530. Poor Archdall understood Colgan's words as if they meant, that he died in said year. The fact is that the year of his death is un-

known; but it must have been long after 530. In some Calendars his festival is assigned to the 16th, in others to the 18th of January.

(174) Acts of St. Enda or Endeus (at 21 *Mart.*) *cap.* 21, *seqq.*

(175) Usher, *p.* 1064, from a life of Kieran. In neither of the lives of Senan is there any mention of Kieran having been a member of the house of Inniscatthy, although in them he is spoken of more than once. We read that Kieran and Brendan waited upon Senan to make their confessions to him, which is thus expressed in the metrical life; "*Kyeranus interea—et Brendanus præterea—adveniunt Angelico—admoniti oraculo—ut sancto causas omnium—faterentur excessuum.*" And in the other life, *cap.* 86. it is said that they called upon Senan to request that he would become their spiritual director and confessor, and that they fixed upon him, because he was older and their superior in rank, he being a bishop and they only priests. For, as Colgan observes, it was usual with the holy men of those days to choose a particular director of conscience, who in Irish was called *Annchara*, *i. e.* spiritual friend or father. Kieran is mentioned also on another occasion in said lives, where it is related that, on his way to visit Senan, he gave his cloak to a poor man, whom he met almost naked, and that, when on the bank of the river near Inniscatthy, Senan sent a boat to bring him over, and ran forward to welcome him, bringing a cloak instead of the one he had given away. Yet I do not mean to deny, that Kieran might have lived for some time at Inniscatthy in the above mentioned capacity. In the metrical life of Senan (*cap.* 21.) we find that Kieran is called a companion of his, "*comes semper et socius*;" but these words seem to mean nothing more than that they were constant friends. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) places Kieran's departure from Arran and arrival at Inniscatthy in the year 538, thus allowing only eight years in all for the time he spent both with Nennidhius and with Enda. (See *Not.* 170.) According to this computation he would have remained but one year with Nennidhius. Be this as it may, although the time is probably too short, Usher's date is merely conjectural, and cannot be reconciled with other dates, particularly those laid down by Usher himself. In the first place it is more than probable, as already remarked, that Kieran did not go to the

monastery of Nennidhius as early as 530. Next, how will we be able to account for the time between 538 and 544, the year to which Usher assigns the foundation of Kieran's first monastery? For admitting that Kieran went from Arran to Inniscathay, it is plain from the account given of what occurred in the latter place, that he remained there only for a short time. And in the life of Enda Kieran is represented as, when leaving Arran, bent upon erecting a monastery for himself. It is odd that Usher fixed upon the year 538, having placed Kieran's birth in 516; whereas he must have supposed that Kieran arrived in Arran seven years before, that is, in 531, and when he was only 15 years old. Now who can imagine, that St. Enda would have ordered a boy of that age to employ himself in threshing corn? Usher's motive for making these occurrences earlier than he ought was, I believe, his wish to reconcile them with the wrong date, (A. D. 449.) which he had assigned for Enda's foundation in Arran. (See *Not. 82 to Chap. VIII.*) Accordingly he drew back, as far as he thought he could, the transactions of Kieran with Enda, lest he would be obliged to suppose that the latter lived to a prodigious age.

(176) Usher, p. 1065. The cause assigned for Kieran's leaving Inniscathay shows, that he did not remain there long. We may be sure that he exercised his great liberality as soon as it was in his power, and that in less than perhaps half a year he was persecuted by those stingy monks.

(177) Ware threw out a conjecture (*Antiq. cap. 26* under *Longford*) that the islet Aingin or Inis-aingin was the same as the Island of all saints, in which there was a monastery long after the times of St. Kieran. Perhaps it was, but Harris (*Monast. tables.*) and Archdall (at *Island of all saints*) have gone further, stating, without giving us any authority, as a fact what Ware proposed by way of conjecture.

(178) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigned this date on the supposition that St. Kieran got a grant of Inis-aingin from Diarmid king of Ireland. As Diarmid's reign did not begin until A. D. 544, Usher concluded that said grant could not be placed before that year. But might not Diarmid have made such a grant before he became king of all Ireland? Inis-aingin was most probably part of his patrimonial territory, and one of those islands of Lough-rie, in which Diarmid used to take shelter, when persecuted

by his predecessor king Tuathal. (See the Tripartite life of St. Patrick, L. 2. c. 28.) Other accounts state, that Kieran got Inis-aingin from a priest called Daniel. Colgan quotes (*Tr. Th. p. 175*) to this purpose the following passage from a Life of Kieran; "Et venit ipse presbyter Daniel repletus Dei gratia, et insulam Angin, quae erat in sua possessione, Deo et sancto Kierano in aeternum obtulit." This is, I believe, as respectable an authority, as the book of *Nolan*, whence Usher derived his information.

(179) Tigernach states in his Annals, that Kieran, having founded the monastery of Clonmacnois, was abbot for seven years; but as, according to every other account, he founded it only one year before his death, I think Tigernach must be understood of the whole time, during which he governed both there and at Inis-aingin. The name and recollection of Inis-aingin were, in course of time, swallowed up in the greatness of Clonmacnois, inasmuch that in some documents, *ex. c.* the *Acts of Enda*, Kieran is spoken of as setting about the establishment of the latter very soon after his departure from Arran, without any mention being made of Inis-aingin. As to the whole period of Kieran's abbotsip, Tigernach is a respectable witness, having lived at Clonmacnois, where he was an Erenach, or as others say, abbot in the eleventh century. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Tigernach*.

(180) Usher, p. 1065. The reader need not be reminded of the part of Ireland in which this celebrated place is situated. It was anciently called *Drum-tiprad* (*AA. SS. p. 266.*), and got its present name from a Connaught prince, but on what occasions I cannot discover. The Annals of Inisfallen have. "A. 547 (548) Fundata est Clonmacnois, i. e. Nois Muccaid regis Connacinae a quo nigrinatur Cluain." The meaning of this seems to be that it was so called from a son of Nois Muccaid, king of Connaught. Perhaps his name was *Tiprad*. I find this name among those of the ancient princes of that province. (See *AA. SS. p. 266.*) That the monastery was founded in 548, appears not only from the now quoted annals, but likewise from the general testimony of our old writers that Kieran died in the year next after the establishing of it. (See Usher, p. 909. and *Ind. Chron.*)

(181) This account of the foundation of Clonmacnois, which is the most correct I have met with, is taken from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, L. 2. c. 28. As to what Usher has, (p. 257.

and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 544*) from the Book of Navan, of Kieran's having got above 100 churches and cells from Diarmait, it is somewhat worth animalversion. Such huge grants were unknown in those times, and indeed at all times, as made by one individual to another; nor would our saints, particularly a Kieran, have accepted of large donations. They used to work with their own hands, and maintain themselves and others by their own labour. That fable was invented at a period, when there existed a great number of religious houses, in which the rule and institution of St. Kieran were observed. Those communities were gradually multiplied in the course of ages; but, as long as the saint lived, there is no account that can be depended on, of any monastery of his order besides Clonmacnois and Inis-aingin.

(182) *Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and 4 Masters, Usher (Ind. Chron.) Ware (Bishops at Clonmacnois); Harris, &c.* The Bollandists in a note to the Life of St. Cronan of Roscrea (at 28 April) say that they will prove at 9 September, that Kieran lived at Clonmacnois until 570 or later, and that said monastery was founded as early as about 519. Whether they have endeavoured to keep their word I do not know, not having their tomes so late as said month; but this much I am certain of, that, notwithstanding their confidential tone, they would not have been able to prove the truth of these paradoxes, in opposition to our best annalists, Kieran's connection with Finnian of Clonard, Nennidius, Enda, &c. and the whole history of Clonmacnois, where we find a successor of Kieran, prior to the year 570 (See below *Not. 184.*)

(183) *Annals of 4 Masters at 548 (549) and Colgan (A.A. 88. p. 150.)* This pestilence was called *Crem-chonnnull*, that is, as Colgan explains it (*ib.p. 831*) the yellow jaundice.

(184) See *Not. 175.* Ware (*Bishops at Clonmacnois*) observes that some writers spoke of Kieran as a bishop; but he did not follow their opinion. Harris (*ib.*) seems to exhibit him as bishop of Clonmacnois, owing to his shameful mistake of placing Tigernach there as immediate successor of Kieran. Tigernach was bishop not at Clonmacnois, but at Clones. (See *Not. 15 to Chap. ix.*) Archdall (at *Clonmacnois*), besides following Harris's mistake, has given us a huge blunder of his own, where he introduces Oedlugh, abbot of Clonmacnois, as dying in the year 551. If this were true, we should suppose that

Oedlugh was Kieran's immediate successor as abbot. To understand the source of this blunder, the reader must be apprized that there was an Aedlugh or Aidlugh son of Coman and abbot of Clonmacnois in the *seventh* century, as Colgan expressly states at 26 February, where he treats of him, and where he adds that he succeeded Cronan, who died in 637 (638). The 4 Masters place Aedlugh's death in 651 (652), as do also the Ulster Annals quoted by Usher, *p.* 970. In Colgan's text, where the 4 Masters are quoted, it has, as very usual in Colgan's works, unfortunately happened that, through an error of the press, the number 551 appears instead of 651. This palpable erratum, which, on account of its opposition to the whole context a schoolboy would have discovered, was Archdall's authority for his *Oedlugh*, as he calls him. His reason for giving him that name was, that he has him lower down where he ought to be, viz. at A. 652, there calling him *Aidhlog mac Camain* as the name appears in Usher (*loc. cit.*) Colgan had referred to the very passage of Usher. Yet Archdall still remained blind; but to hide the confusion he changed (at A. 551) *Aidhlog* into *Oedlugh*. The real immediate successor of St. Kieran was Oena who died in 569 (570) according to the 4 Masters and *AA. SS. p.* 193. Colgan elsewhere (*ib. p.* 72) calls him *Aengus* or *Aeneas*. As to bishops of Clonmacnois, the first we meet with was Baitan or Boetan, whose death is assigned to A. D. 663 (664).

(185) Cumman in his Paschal epistle mentions him, together with Ailbe, Brendan, and others, under the name of *Queranus Coloniensis*. Alcuin joins him with St. Patrick and others, where he writes; "Patricius, Cheranus Scottorum gloria gentis, &c. See *Not. 56 to Chap. II.*

(186) It was called the *Law of Kieran*. Ware (*Writers*) observes that he is said to have written also some prophecies.

(187) Mr. Chalmers (*Caledonia, Vol. 1. p.* 318) mentions St. Kieran as a great patron saint of the Scoto-Irish in North Britain, and adds that many churches, several of which he names, were dedicated to him in Argyle, Ayrshire, and other places; and that an islet on the coast of Lorn bears his name. He shows that the saint was Kieran of Clonmacnois from his festival having been kept on the 9th of September, which is confirmed by Keith, although wrong in other points, *List of Bishops, p.* 233. In the *Martyrolog. Scot.* of Camerarius the

11th of September is marked for his festival, for the purpose, it seems, of distinguishing him from Kieran of Clonmacnois, and of making him appear as a native of the now called Scotland. Dempster, who stopped at nothing went further, saying that he lived chiefly in the Western isles (See above *Not.* 32.) Colgan shows (*AA. SS.* p. 470) that the statements of both Camerarius and Dempster are false. Had he been aware of the great veneration paid to St. Kieran in that country, and of the 9th of September being the true day of his festival, he could have cleared up the matter better than he has done. He might have learned from the Supplement to Kieran's Acts quoted by himself (*ib.* p. 266) that his name was exceedingly celebrated in Scotland; "*Nomen per Hiberniam et Albaniam longe celeberrimum.*" His being so well known there and so much revered, preferably to several other eminent Irish saints, was, I dare say, owing in great part to the esteem in which he was held by St. Columba, who is said to have written a hymn in praise of Kieran, beginning with these lines; "*Quantum Christi, O, Apostolum—mundo misisti hominem?—Lucerna hujus insulae—lucens lucerna mirabilis,*" &c. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 472.)

§. XII. St. Comgall, or, as more properly called, Coemgall or Coemgell, the renowned abbot of Bangor, was of a distinguished military family of Dalaradia, the very country, in which he founded his monastery. His father's name was *Sedna*, and his mother's *Briga*. It is said that his birth had been foretold by St. Patrick sixty years before he came into the world. (188) According to the Annals of Ulster he was born in the year 516; (189) but other accounts place his birth somewhat earlier. (190) When arrived at a certain age he wished to embrace the religious state, and, leaving his father's house, placed himself under a master capable of instructing him in various branches of learning, particularly ecclesiastical. After a certain lapse of time Comgall set out from his own country towards the more southern parts of Ireland, for the purpose of improving himself in knowledge and in the observ-

ances of a monastic life. Having arrived in Leinster he went to the monastery of Clonenagh governed by St. Fintan, who received him kindly and admitted him a member of his community. (191) Comgall must by this time have been of rather a mature age, and even older than St. Fintan, if we are to believe that the latter was, as we read in his Acts, younger than Columbkille. (192) As the discipline was very severe at Clonenagh, Comgall after some time felt a strong temptation to leave the monastery and return to his relatives and country. But Fintan, to whom he disclosed his feelings and uneasiness, having prayed to God in his favour, he was soon relieved from this anxiety, and, while in the act of praying himself, he felt his heart, all of a sudden, overflowing with spiritual joy and comfort. (193) Being now fully satisfied with his state, he remained for several years under the direction of St. Fintan, who, finding him well qualified for the purpose, advised him to go back to his own country and to form there some religious establishments. (194) Comgall had been hitherto unwilling to enter into holy orders; but it is said that, before proceeding straight to Dalaradia he turned off to Clonmacnois (195) and after some time was there ordained priest by a bishop Lugidus. (196) We are told that, on his arrival in Ulster, he preached in various parts of that province, and spent some time in retirement in an island of Lough Erne. It is added that he intended to leave Ireland, and to spend the remainder of his days in Britain, but that he was induced by the pressing solicitations of bishop Lugidus, who had ordained him, and of other holy men, to remain in his own country. (197) Comgall then founded the monastery of Banchor, or as it is often called, *Benchor*, now Bangor (198) near the bay of Carrickfergus. This foundation took place about the year 559. (199) For the direction of his institution Comgall drew up a particular rule, which was rec-

known among the principal ones observed in Ireland. (200) The number of persons that flocked to place themselves under this holy abbot, was so great that, as one place could not contain them, it became necessary to establish various monasteries and cells, in which, taken altogether, it was computed that there were 8000 monks, all observing his rule, and superintended by him. (201) Among them is mentioned Cormac, king of South Leinster or Hy-kinselagh, who in his old age retired to Bangor, and there spent the remainder of his days. (202) The reputation of this monastery was very much enhanced by the celebrity of some eminent men, who had been educated there under Comgall, particularly St. Columbanus, one of the greatest men of the age he lived in, so that the fame of Bangor spread far and wide throughout all Europe. (203) St. Comgall observed and followed the liturgy introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick. (204) It is related that in the seventh year after the foundation of Bangor he went to Britain, wishing to visit some saints, and to remain there for some time; and that he established a monastery in the country called *Heth*. (205) If, as seems more probable, the Britain, to which Comgall repaired, was Great Britain, it is not unlikely that it was on this occasion that he paid a visit, together with St. Brendan and others, to Columbkille in one of the Western isles. (206) He is said to have contributed to the conversion of Brideus, king of the Northern Picts. Having returned to Ireland he continued to govern his monastery and its dependencies until his death, which occurred on the 10th of May A. D. 601, (207) after he had received the holy viaticum from St. Fiachra, abbot of Congbail and afterwards of Clonard. (208) St. Comgall has been justly reckoned among the fathers of the Irish church. (209) Whether he was the author of certain tracts, attributed to him, besides his Monastic rule, I leave to others to inquire. (210)

(188) Jocelin relates (*cap.* 98.) that St. Patrick being in the district, in which the monastery was afterwards founded, was asked to erect a church there, and that he declined doing so, saying that at the end of 60 years a child of light would be born of the name of Comhgall, i. e. *beautiful pledge*, who would in that place, establish a church, &c. Many such prophecies are mentioned as to the birth of our great saints; but we are not bound to believe that they were actually pronounced.

(189) See Usher, *p.* 869, and *Ind. Chron.*

(190) The Annals of Inisfallen have; A. 513 (514) *Nativitas Comgol Benchor.* According to the 4 Masters he would have been born in 511 or 512; for, while agreeing with every other account they assign his death to A. D. 600 (601); they observe that he died in the 99th year of his age, which is stated also in the *Martyrol. Tamlact.* quoted in *Tr. Th. p.* 113. In the first of Comgall's Lives published by the Bollandists (a trifling one indeed) he is said to have died in the 80th. — Those, who place his birth in 516 tell us, that he died at the age of 85 or in his 85th year. Usher *ib.* Ware, (*Writers*) &c. This date (516) is probably the most correct, and agrees better than the others with some transactions of Comgall's life. Archdall (*at Bangor*) jumbles the whole together. After placing his birth in 516, and death in 601, he makes him die in the 90th year of his age!

(191) In Comgall's second Life, *cap.* 3, we read; "Jam pius juvenis Comgellus—direxit viam suam ad australem Hiberniae plagam, et intravit provinciam Lageniensem, et venit ad S. Fintanum, abbatem monasterii nomine *Chuainedhnech*, regentem in plebe Laighis positum, in aquilonali Lageniensem plagam, juxta radices montis Bladhna; recepitque S. Fintanus B. Comgallum in suam congregationem." Of this celebrated monastery and St. Fintan we shall see lower down. This second Life is also in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*.

(192) According to the earliest computation Columkill was not born until the year 519. Add that Fintan had been a disciple of Columba son of Crimthann, afterwards abbot of Tirdoglas. Now this Columba had been a scholar of Finnian of Clonard. Considering all circumstances it is hard to suppose, as will be seen, that Fintan founded the monastery of Clonenagh until about the year 548. Admitting that Comgall was received there in that year, it

will follow that he was at least 32 years old when he assumed the monastic habit. In the supposition that he was born before 516, he would have been more than 32, and still by some additional years younger than Fintan. In this case the disparity of years between the abbot and the novice might appear too great, and Comgall would perhaps have looked out for a superior not so much younger than himself. Hence it may be concluded, that his birth ought not to be placed earlier than A. 516.

(193) Second Life of Comgall, *cap.* 4.

(194) *Ib.* *cap.* 11.

(195. I do not know how this can be reconciled with the directions given him by St. Fintan to proceed forthwith to his own country, or with its being related that he actually set out for that purpose. I suspect that Clonmacnois has been mistaken for Connor. At any rate, if he went to Clonmacnois, he could not have been there with St. Kieran, as we read in the Legend for his Office drawn up by Dr. Burke (*Officia propria SS. Hibern.*); whereas this saint was dead before Comgall had left Clonenagh. As he had spent several years in this monastery, where, at the earliest, he was not received until A. D. 548 (See *Not.* 192), how could he have been, after his departure thence, with St. Kieran, who died in 549?

(196) There is no account, in any catalogue of our bishops, of a Lugidus in those times at Clonmacnois. Ware indeed (*Writers at Comgall*) has what is said of his having there ordained Comgall. But at *Bishops* he makes no mention of him; and the first bishop of Clonmacnois, whom he names, is Baitan. (See *Not.* 184.) It is probable, that by Lugidus the ordainer of Comgall was meant the bishop of Connor, who might have been otherwise called Lugadius. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 13.) I am the more inclined to be of this opinion as Lugadius is spoken of as having had verbal communications with Comgall after his return to Ulster, such as a bishop of Connor might have had with a person living in the district, in which Banger is situated. It is true that Lugadius of Connor is said to have died in 598, and therefore long before he could have ordained Comgall. Are we, however, certain that he died so early? And, admitting it, there might be in this case one of these anachronisms so usual in the Acts of our saints. For I do not mean to say that Comgall was ordained by that bi-

shop of Connor, but merely to observe that as Lugadius lived in the sixth century, and not far from Comgall's residence, he might have been guessed at as the ordainer. Yet it may be allowed, that there was a bishop Lugadius, who actually ordained Comgall; but, if there was, I think we should look for him rather in the neighbourhood of Comgall's country than at Clonmacnois.

(197) It would be difficult to reconcile this narrative with the account given of Comgall having returned to his own country, in compliance with St. Fintan's advice, for the purpose of forming some religious establishments. I am very much inclined to think, that it is founded more on conjecture than on fact. The practice of going to foreign parts, which became so general with our Irish saints towards the close of Comgall's life, might have induced an opinion that he also had intended to quit Ireland, particularly as some of his own disciples, and among others the great Columbanus, had done so.

(198) Ware (*Ant. cap.* 26) says that the place got its name from *White choir*, which is the same as *Banchor* in Irish. But, if the name was originally *Benchor*, will this etymology be correct?

(199) Ware (*ib.*) has A. D. 555, and is followed by Harris and Archdall. Usher says (*p.* 956) *about* 555 or 559; but in his *Ind. Chron.* he assigns the foundation to A. 559; which comes nearer the truth. The Annals of Innisfallen places it in 557 (558). From what has been seen concerning the time that Comgall may have arrived at Clonenagh, and the number of years which he is said to have spent there, the foundation of Bangor cannot consistently with these and other circumstances, be carried farther back than the year 558. The date, 551 (552) assigned for it by the 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p.* 192) is still less admissible than Ware's. It is very probable, that Comgall had not in that year completed one half of his monastic studies at Clonenagh.

(200) In the Supplement to the Acts of Kieran of Clonmacnois, quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 471), Comgall is named among eight chief framers of Monastic rules. The other seven there mentioned are St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Brendan, St. Kieran, St. Columbkille, St. Molassius, and St. Adamnan. We may observe, by the bye, that several others of our saints composed similar

rules. But of this hereafter. Meanwhile see Usher, *p.* 919. and above *Not.* 58.

(201) We read in Comgall's second Life, *cap.* 18. "Constituitque magnum monasterium, quod vocatur *Benchor* in regione, quae dicitur *Altitudo Uktorum* (Ardes) juxta mare orientale; et maxima multitudo monachorum illuc venit ad S. Comgallum, ut non potuissent esse in uno loco; et inde plurimas cellas et multa monasteria non solum in regione Uktorum sed per alias Hiberniae provincias; et in diversis cellis et monasteriis tria millia monachorum sub cura sancti patris Comgelli erant. Sed major et nominatior caeteris locis praedictum monasterium Benchor est, ubi clara civitas in honore S. Comgelli aedificata est." By *regione Uktorum* in this passage is to be understood the particular territory anciently called *Ulidia*, and by *other provinces of Ireland* various districts in the Northern parts; for, although in the course of time Comgall's rule might have been observed far and wide throughout Ireland, yet it is to be supposed that during his life time it did not extend beyond such places as it would have been convenient for him to visit in person. One of those subordinate monasteries was at Cambos, now Camus, on the river Bann in the barony of Coleraine. (See Archdall at *Camus*.) It is mentioned by Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c.* 49, Colgan's *ed.*) Usher expressed (*p.* 1009) a doubt whether Comgall of Bangor was the same as he of Cambos, whom he found called *Congell*. As to the name being spelled *Congell*, it can create no difficulty; whereas we often find it so written, where there can be no doubt of our Comgall being the person spoken of. In Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*loc. cit.*) we have not *Congell* but *Comgell*; and in his notes on that chapter he supposed, and indeed justly, that he was no other than Comgall of Bangor. Usher, in consequence of his doubt, mentions (*Ind. Chron. ad A.* 580) a Congell of Cambos as if distinct from the great Comgall of Bangor. There is no reason for admitting this distinction, and I have observed thus much, lest the reader might be led astray by the great authority of Usher.

(202) This fact is thus recorded in the Acts of St. Fintan of Clonenagh, *cap.* 18. "Cormacus filius Diarmadae multo tempore vixit

in regno Lageniensium (australiū), et in senectute spreto regno apud S. Coemgallum abbatem in provincia Ultoniae in monasterio de Beanchoir monachus factus suam vitam sancte finivit."

(203) In the Life of St. Malachy, *cap. 5*. St. Bernard writes; "Ipsum quoque locum Benchor tradidit ei princeps, ut aedificaret ibi monasterium, vel potius reaedificaret. Nempe nobilissimum extiterat ante sub primo patre Congello, multa millia monachorum generans, multorum monasteriorum caput. Locus vere sanctus foecundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo, ita ut unus ex filiis sanctae illius congregationis, nomine Luanus, centum solus monasteriorum fundato rexitisse feratur—Hiberniam Scotiamque repleverunt genimina ejus—Nec modo in praefatas, sed in exterās etiam regiones, quasi inundatione facta, illa se sanctorum examina effuderunt; e quibus ad has nostras Gallicanas partes sanctus Columbanus ascendens Lexoviense construxit monasterium, factus ibi in gentem magnam—Haec de antiqua dicta sint Benchorensis monasterij gloria."

(204) Usher, *p.* 917. See above *Not.* 59.

(205) Usher, *p.* 956. Where this *regio Heth* lay I cannot rightly discover. If it was the same as the *Heth* mentioned in the Acts of Brendan of Clonfert (above §. 7.) it must have been in Brittany. But it appears more probable that the Britain, to which Comgall repaired, was Great Britain. Perhaps *Heth*, instead of being the proper name of a territory, means a tract lying near the sea. Baxter in his Glossary (*at Lemanis*) explains *Hithe*, the name of a place in Kent, as signifying *coast* or *sea-shore*. In Lhuys's Armoric Vocabulary *Aut* is translated *sea-shore, bank of a river, &c.* The *Heth*, in which Comgall is said to have been, was a maritime district, for, as stated in his Acts, some Pictish pirates made an attack on the monastery. This circumstance of *Pictish pirates* induces me to think, that it was rather in Great Britain, and most probably in the North of it, than in Brittany, as it is not easy to believe, that the Picts would have in those times carried their predatory excursions so far from their own country. Eday, one of the Orkney islands, is called *Hethy* by Camden, *col.* 1469. But Comgall's *Heth* is not called an island.

(206) See *Not.* 118. In this supposition it is clear that Bangor could not have been founded as early as the year 555, whereas

the seventh year following would have been 562. Now Columbkil did not leave Ireland until 563; and he had spent some not very short time in the Western isles before he was visited there by Comgall.

(207) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The Annals of Innisfallen, adhering in this case to the more general mode of reckoning the Christian era, have; "A. 601. *Quies Congoll Benchor.*" The 4 Masters A. have 600, that is, 601; and add that Comgal governed Bangor for 50 years, 3 months, and 10 days. (See *AA. SS. p. 424.*) They supposed that the monastery was erected in 522 (above *Not. 199*), in which computation they were certainly wrong.

(208) Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 406.*) has; "S. Fiachrius abbas de Congbail in Gleann-suílige in Tirconallia, et abbas etiam de Cluaineraird." He places him between the years 587 and 652. Congbail is now called Conwall, and is in the county of Donegall. (See Archdall *ad loc.*) Whether Fiachra was only abbot of Congbail, or had already removed to Clonard, when he attended St. Comgall in his last illness, I cannot determine. In the second Life of Comgall the Fiachra, who gave him the viaticum, is said to have been from Idrone near the river Barrow.

(209) See *Not. 56 to Chap. II.*

(210) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Comgall.*

§. XIII. Next after those saints of the second class, whose history we have endeavoured to illustrate, is mentioned St. Columba usually known by the name of Columbkil. But as an account of the transactions of this extraordinary man cannot be comprized in a few paragraphs, we must defer it for a while, as well as that of several other saints of the same class, lest the thread of our narrative should be too much interrupted. To return therefore to the last year of Tuathal's reign and the early part of that of Diermit, (211) the death of St. Enda of Arran (212) may be assigned to about the year 542, as he died not long after Kieran of Clonmacnois left his monastery. (213) His immediate successor as abbot of Arran was probably Benedict, a brother of Kieran of Saigir. (214) Dubtach, archbishop of Armagh is only called

Dubtagh the second, (215) died in 548. (216) I do not find the day of his death marked in our Annals or Calendars. He was succeeded by David son of Guaira Hua Farannais, whose family seems to have been a branch of the illustrious house of the Hua-Fiachraigh of Ulster; and hence probably the reason of this prelate being called, in the Psalter of Cashel, *Fiachrius* or *Hifiachrius*. (217) He is said by some to have exercised the functions of Apostolic Legate in Ireland; (218) but this opinion is founded on a mistake, whereas there did not appear any person invested with that title in Ireland until about the end of the eleventh century. (219) David did not long govern the see of Armagh, as he died in the year 551, and was succeeded by Feidlimid Fionn. (220) In the year next after the death of Dubtach the second, *viz.* in 549, several eminent persons were carried off by the great pestilence, that raged in said year. (221) Besides Kieran of Clonmacnois, of whom we have seen already, St. Tigernach bishop of Clones and Clogher (222) is first mentioned, and his exit is marked at the 4th of April A. D. 549. (223) To the 11th of June, same year, is assigned that of St. Mactalius bishop of Kilcullen, (224) Another saint already treated of, who died in this year, was Sinell or Senchel of Killeigh. (225) To these we have to add St. Odran abbot of Lettrech-Odran, (226) who died on the 2d of October. This saint was a native of that place, and had an intention to lead a religious life in some other part of Ireland. But being advised by Kieran of Saigir to remain in his own town he there erected a monastery, which became very respectable; and as he was a man of great virtue and sanctity, his memory has been highly revered, and thenceforth his name was added to that of the town, so that it was called *Lettrech-Odran* or *Lettir-Odran*. (227) Some other distinguished persons have been mentioned as having died in that year; but as to such of them as we have a correct

account of, (228) there can be no doubt of their having lived for some time later. One of them is St Columba son of Crimthann, who had been a disciple of Finnian of Clonard, (229) and was the person who administered to him the last rites of the church. (230) He was of a noble and seemingly princely family of Leinster. (231) Of the time he was born or of the transactions of his earlier years I am not able to give an account. This much we know that, having completed his studies, he undertook the direction of three disciples, Coemhan, Fintan, and Mocumin, who followed him whithersoever he went. (232) It is related that, after having spent some time together in other places, they remained for a year at Clonenagh. Columba did not form any establishment there; but, after he had left it to go elsewhere, looking back on it from the adjacent mountain he thought it a very eligible spot for the erection of a monastery, and advised Fintan to settle there, which he accordingly did. (233) Soon after his departure from that place Columba founded the celebrated monastery of Tirdaglas, (234) and probably about the year 548. (235) He did not govern it long, as he died in the year 552. (236) The day assigned for his death is the 13th of December. (237) He was buried at Tirdaglas, (238) and, according to every appearance, was succeeded in the government of that monastery by one of his disciples, the above-mentioned Mocumin. (239)

(211) Above §. 5.

(212) See *Chap. VIII.* §. 7.

(213) In the last chapter of Enda's Acts at 21st March, the day of his death, it is related that having accompanied Kieran to the sea-side on his leaving Arran, and with tears in his eyes foretold the unhappy state, to which that and the neighbouring islands would be reduced at a future period, he returned to the monastery and, after recommending his soul to the Almighty God, departed this life. We have seen (§. 11.) that Kieran founded the monastery of Inisuingin not long after his departure from

Arran, and that this foundation took place, very probably, in the year 542.

(214) The Calendar of Cashel, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 472*) has at 10th June; "Benedictus filius Luagnei—comorbanus sive successor Endei Arranensis, et frater Kieran Sagi-rensis. Ipse est Papa, quem ferunt esse insulo Aranuensi." In this passage it is not expressly stated, that Benedict was the immediate successor of Enda; but considering the period, in which his brother Kieran lived (*above* §. 2), it is very probable that he was. Here we have an additional proof to show, that the foolish stories about Kieran having been contemporary with St. Patrick are not worthy of the least credit. It is somewhat remarkable that the title *Papa*, which in ancient times was used for bishops indiscriminately, is in that passage given to a simple abbot. It means *father* in general, as observed by Walafr. Strabo, *De rebus eccl. cap. 7*. "*Papa paternitatis nomen est.*" Thus the Greeks call every priest *Papas* or *Pappas*.

(215) See *above* §. 1.

(216) (*Tr. Th. p. 298*. Ware, *Bishops*, &c. The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) have A. 547, viz. the same year as our 548. It is tiresome to find Harris still referring to the 4 Masters as if in opposition to Ware, whereas their dates are in reality the same.

(217) See *Tr. Th. p. 292*, 293.

(218) *Tr. Th. ib.* and *AA. SS. p. 191*.

(219) It is, as will be seen elsewhere, plain from the testimony of St. Bernard, that Gillibert, bishop of Limerick, was the first Apostolic Legate appointed for Ireland. It may be that David, as primate and then sole metropolitan of Ireland, made a general visitation of the churches throughout the kingdom; and, if so, the recollection of it might, in later times, have induced people to think, that he had acted in virtue of legatine authority.

(220) *Tr. Th. p. 293*. Ware, &c.

(221) *Annals of the 4 Masters*, and *AA. SS. p. 150, 191*, and 831,

(222) See *Chap. ix. §. 2*.

(223) The 4 Masters, according to their mode of computation, have 548, i. e. 549. Usher assigned, I know not on what authority, Tigernach's death to 550 (*Ind. Chron.*) Ware (*Bishops*

at *Clogher*) has A. 550 or 549. The latter date is mentioned over and over by Colgan; and yet Harris makes him place Tigernach's death in 550, not reflecting that the passage he referred to was merely one of Usher's quoted by Colgan. But every where else, as in the pages already pointed at (*Not.* 221.) Colgan adheres to the 4 Masters.

(224) See *Chap.* VIII. §. 2. If Mactalius was the same person as Mactaleus, one of St. Patrick's disciples in Tirechan's list (See *Not.* 33 and 35 to *Chap.* VII.) he must have lived to a very great age, even supposing that he was little more than a boy at the time of our Apostle's death. The real name of the saint is said by some to have been *Eugenius*, while others call him *Aengus*, and made him the son of one Eugenius, a carpenter, on which account he was surnamed *Mactail*, or *son of the ax*. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 185.)

(225) See *Chap.* IX. §. 3.

(226) It is now called Latteragh, a village in the barony of Upper Ormond, county of Tipperary.

(227) First Life of Kieran of Saigir, *cap.* 28. It is odd that Harris has overlooked this monastery. Archdall has it (at *Latteragh*), and adds that Odran there presided over 3000 scholars. This is really a ludicrous mistake, founded on an omission in Congal's printed text (*AA. SS.* p. 191), where, after mention being made of Odran's death in the year 548 (549), one or two lines have, through bad management of the press, slipped out, in which Finnian of Clonard was spoken of. Then Colgan refers to the catalogue of saints published by Usher, in the second class of which, as we have seen, Finnian is named, and to his 3000 scholars, &c. poor Archdall not having found Finnian's name prefixed to this detail, and seeing that Odran's appeared next before it, made over to him all Finnian's scholars, &c. notwithstanding Colgan's reference to Usher, his quotation of a hymn in Finnian's Office, and other circumstances too clear to be misunderstood by any one of common sense. Archdall has, on this point, led astray Seward. (*Topogr. Hibern. at Latteragh.*)

228 The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 150, and 831,) assign to said year the death of a St. Columba of Iniskeltra, an island of Lough-Derg in the Shannon. This is evidently a mistake; for there was no religious house in Iniskeltra until, as

Colgan himself informs us (*ib. p. 746*), the seventh century, when the celebrated St. Camin erected there a monastery. Yet he goes still further than the 4 Masters, and (*Tr. Th. p. 269*) reckons this Columba, who probably never existed, among the disciples of St. Patrick. And why? For no other reason, that I can discover, except that he was supposed not to have survived the year 548 (549). Upon the same notable foundation he makes Tighernach of Clones, Dubtach the second of Armagh, and several others, who were said to have died about that time, equally disciples of our Apostle, as if every one, that lived until 549, should have been under his tuition.

(229) Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19*.

(230) *Ib. cap. 20.* and above §. 5.

(231) In the very beginning of his Life as quoted by Ware (*Writers L. 1. c. 13.* in Harris' *ed. c. 15.*), he is said to have been born of a noble family in Leinster; but in the 5th chapter he and Columbkille are spoken of as sons of kings. See (*Tr. Th. p. 457.*) He was probably of the royal blood of Hy-kinsela, to which several princes of the name of Crimthann belonged.

(232) Acts of Fintan of Clonenagh, *cap. 3*. Coemban was afterwards abbot of Enach-trim or Annatrim in the Queen's county; Fintan was he of Clonenagh; and Mocumen became abbot of Tirdaglas after the death of Columba. See also Usher, *p. 962*, and *Ind. Chron. ad A. 550*.

(233) Fintan's Acts, *capp. 4, 5*. From this account it appears that Colgan was mistaken (*AA. SS. p. 356*) in making Columba the first abbot of Clonenagh. He had simply lived there for one year in retirement with his three disciples, until, their tranquillity being broken in upon by the crowds of their friends and other persons that used to visit them, he thought fit to leave it. But there was no monastery at Clonenagh before that founded by Fintan, as is evident from his *Acts, ib.* Archdall has (at *Tirdaglas*) copied Colgan's mistake; and (at *Clonenagh*) in direct opposition to Colgan, gives us an absurd and contrary one of his own; for, after stating that this monastery was founded by Fintan, he makes Columba succeed him there as abbot. It would require a book as big as Archdall's to correct all his blunders.

(234) In the barony of Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary, near Lough-Derg of the Shannon. It is odd that Ware has

omitted this monastery, although it continued for many centuries. Harris has it in his Monastic tables, but, instead of naming the founder, only mentions an abbot of it in the 7th century.

(235) As Columba did not erect this monastery until after parting with Fintan, whom he left at Clonenagh, we cannot assign the commencement of it to a period earlier than that of the foundation of the house of Clonenagh, which, as we have seen (*Not.* 192), cannot consistently be placed before about 548.

(236) In his Acts it is stated that he died in the same year with Finnian of Clonard. Now Finnian died in 552. (above §. 5.) The 4 Masters place Columba's death in 548 (549), for no other reason, I suspect, than their having erroneously assigned that also of Finnian to said year. (See *Not.* 74.) Knowing that both these saints were supposed to have died in one and the same year, they accordingly marked this date for the death of Columba. But this very coincidence might have taught them, that Finnian lived later than 549. Considering Columba's and Fintan's proceedings, as just before remarked on, it is clear that the monastery of Tirdaglas was scarcely well established in that year. Unless then we are to admit that he died about its very commencement, for which there is no authority, it is but fair to allow that he governed it for at least three years, so as to be able to give it that stability, which it certainly acquired. The date 552 agrees very well with these circumstances, and thus we find confirmed that assigned for the death of Finnian.

(237) Ware, *Writers*, L. 1. c. 13. Harris' *ed.* c. 15. It cannot but seem rather singular, that he died but one day later than his friend and master Finnian, whose death is usually assigned to the 12th of December. (above §. 5.) It is indeed natural to suppose that Columba survived him, as he had administered to him the holy viaticum, or, as Finnian's Acts express it (*cap.* 20) the sacrifice, and that at the hour of his death; "*sacrificium in hora exitus animae.*" Perhaps Finnian died of some contagious disease, which might have been communicated to Columba. Or is it certain, that Finnian died so late in the year as the 12th of December? I really doubt it. Perhaps the real day of his death was the 23d of February, on which his memory was celebrated at Clonard, and to which belongs his Office published at Paris and afterwards by Colgan. (See *AA. SS.* p. 402.)

(238) In the Acts of Fintan of Clonenagh (*cap.* 3.) we read concerning Columba; "Jacet in sua civitate, quae dicitur Tyrdaglas, in terra Momoniae juxta flumen Sienna."

(239) He was otherwise called *Natchoem* or *Mechoemin*, and was brother to St. Coemgen of Glendaloch. (*AA. SS.* p. 586.) He is constantly called abbot of Tyrdaglas, and died on the first of May, A. D. 584 (585). *Ib.* p. 193. Of him likewise we read in Fintan's Acts (*loc. cit.*); "B. Mocumin, qui est (requiescit) cum S. Columba magistro suo in civitate Tyrdaglas."

§. XIV. Several other persons, concerning whom less is known than of some of those last treated of, are mentioned as having died or been distinguished about these times. St. Mobhy or Mobius surnamed *Clairineach*, that is, *lame*, abbot of Glas-naidhen in the now county of Kildare, is said to have died on the 12th of October, A. D. 545. (240) He is reckoned among the relatives of St. Brigid, (241) and studied under Finnian of Clonard, among whose principal disciples he is expressly named. (242) What time he established his monastery, or what remarkable transactions he was concerned in, no account, that I can meet with, has come down to our days. (243) If it be true that he died in 545, we may conclude that his life was rather short, unless we should suppose, for which there is no authority, that he was far advanced in years, when he became a disciple of Finnian. A St. Diermit, who is said to have founded the monastery of Glean-ussen, (244) must be placed in the period we are now treating of; whereas he was succeeded by St. Comgan, who died before the year 570. (245) St. Dagaeus also, who was bishop at Iniscain-Deghadh, (246) belongs to these times, if he was the same as Dagaeus or Daygeus, from whom St. Moctheus of Louth received the holy viaticum. (247) For in this case he must have been, at least, a priest in 535, the year of Moctheus' death; (248) and it will also follow that he lived to a good old age, as, according to our Annalists, he did not

die until 587. (249) He is said to have been of the royal blood of Neill Neigilliach, and to have distinguished himself by his assiduity in transcribing sacred books, and ingenuity in making elegant covers for them, as also utensils and bells for the service of the church, many of which he distributed gratis in various parts of Ireland. (250) A college or monastery is mentioned as governed by him ; (251) and it has been related that he performed several great miracles. (252) St. Corpreus, or Carbreus, bishop of Coleraine, is said to have flourished about the year 540, (253) and to have been contemporary with Tigernach of Clones, whose school-fellow he had been in Britain under the abbot Nennio or Monennus. (254) He was the son of Degill and grandson of Nad-Sluagh, a dynast of the country about Coleraine, who was a Christian in St. Patrick's time, and had received the saint with great respect and veneration. (255) Corpreus was consecrated bishop by Bruga-cius, who had been consecrated by St. Patrick. (256) He fixed his see at Coleraine ; but I do not find any mention of his having established a monastery in that place. (257) The year of his death is not known ; the day marked for it, or at least for his commemoration, is the 11th of November. Nor were there wanting in those times holy women and virgins, who presided over nunneries and directed the Christian education of females. To several of them already mentioned (258) we may here add St. Regnach or Regnacia, sister of the great Finnian of Clonard, (259) and abbess of the house called from her name *Kill-regnaishe*. (260) One of her eleves St. Lasra became distinguished not only for piety, but for knowledge, having been instructed by Finnian, and afterwards erected a church in her own country at Doire-mac-Aidmear. (261) But of the female saints of that period by far the most eminent was St. Ita, with an account of whom we shall begin the following chapter.

(240) The 4 Masters 'have (*ap AA. SS. p. 191.*); "A. 544 (545) S. Mobhíus cognomento Clairíneach, qui et Berchanus, abbas de Glas-naidhen in Campo-Liffe, obiit 12 Oct." The *Campus-Liffe*, or *Magh-liffe*, i. e. the plain of the Liffey was, as elsewhere observed (*Chap. vi. §. 5. Not. 43.*) the level part of the county of Kildare, through which that river flows. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. p. 613.*) that Glas-naidhen was in the territory of Galenga near the Liffey. If so, it was on the south side of the river, whereas the tract, anciently called Galen or Caélan, is said to have been bounded by the Liffey on the North. (See Rawson's *Introd. to Stat. Survey of Kildare.*) As to Mobhy having been called also *Berchan*, it does not enable us to discover any thing particular concerning him, as we find several other persons under that name in those early times.

(241) *Tr. Th. p. 613.*

(242) Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.*

(243) Were we to believe O'Donnel (*Life of Columbkil, L. 1. cap. 43.*) Mobhy would have had under his care at Glas-naidhen not only this saint, but likewise Cannich, Comgall, and Kieran of Clonmacnois. Without entering into further particulars it is sufficient to recollect what we have already seen concerning Comgall having been at Clonenagh, and Kieran in Arran at the very time alluded to by O'Donnel. In the Acts of these saints no mention is made of their having studied under Mobhy. Kieran and Cannich were certainly acquainted with him, as they also had been at Finnian's school. And thus is to be accounted for whatever tradition there might have been as to their connexion with Mobhy.

(244) Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 417.*), that this monastery was in Hy-barche in West Leinster. Archdall places it (at *Gleane*) in the King's county; but Harris has it in the Queen's county, where it is more probable that it was situated. For, Hy-barche seems to have been the district adjoining Carlow and comprehending the country about Sletty. (See *Not. 131. to Chap. ix.*) This St. Dermít, concerning whom we find no further account, must not be confounded with Dermít of Inisclothan. His memory was revered on the 8th of July.

(245) St. Comgan was, according to Colgan, who treats of him (at 27th February, *p. 417.*), of the illustrious house of the Dalcasians in Thomond. Some have said that, by his mother's side, he was nephew to Columbkil. But Colgan shews (*Tr. Th. p. 478.*),

that this is a mistake. He erected a church in his own country on a hill called *Cleann-indis* or, the *head of Indis*; but whether before or after he became abbot of Glean-ussen we are not informed. His death preceded that of St. Ita, who died in 570. The precise year of it is not known, nor had Archdall any authority for assigning it to 563.

(246) This place was in the territory of Orgiel or Oriel, and in Colgan's time it had only a parish church. (*AA. SS. p. 348.*) Archdall calls it *Iniskin*, and places it in the upper half barony of Dundalk, county of Louth. *Deghadh* was probably the bishop's real name, which has been latinized into *Dagaeus*; so that *Iniscaoin-Deghadh* means the *Iniscaoin of Dagaeus*, and was thus distinguished from *Iniscaoin* an island in Lough-Erne.

(247) Life of Mochtheus, *cap. 21*. This Daggeus is called bishop, *ib. cap. 20*. But it does not appear that he was one, when he attended Mochtheus in his last illness.

(248) See *Chap. ix. §. 13*.

(249) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 732*), have; A. 586 (587) "*Dagaeus episcopus, filius Carelli, obiit die 18 Aug.*" Supposing him to have lived to between 80 and 90 years of age, he might have been the person, that attended Mochtheus. Colgan (at 19 Feb.) treats briefly of a bishop *Dagaeus*, whose name was generally marked in the Calendars at that day. He thinks it very probable that he was no other than the *Dagaeus*, named at the 18th of August. It is not unusual to meet with more than one festival marked for one and the same saint.

(250) See *AA. SS. p. 374*.

(251) *Ib. p. 344*.

(252) *Ib. p. 374*.

(253) *Ib. Ind. Chron.*

(254) *Ib. p. 438*. See *Chap. ix. §. 2*.

(255) *Tr. Th. p. 148*.

(256) *Ib.* Brugacius is said to have been bishop at a place called *Rath-Mugeaonaich*, which Colgan (*ib. p. 183*) conjectured to be the same as *Rath-muighe*, *alias* *Airthur-muighe*. But it is probable that there was no bishop at *Rathmuighe* in St. Patrick's time, as the first person, who was bishop there, seems to have been Olcan. (See *Chap. viii. §. 6*.) Colgan, to patch up the business, adds another conjecture (*AA. SS. p. 377*), viz. that Brugacius was placed there by St. Patrick after Olcan's demise. Archdall (at *Rathmuighe*) follows Colgan. This evasion will not do; for, as

has been observed in the chapter just referred to, Olcan himself could not have been a bishop until after St. Patrick's death. Either those places were different, or there is some mistake with regard to what is said of Brugacius having been consecrated by St. Patrick. His name is in the Calendars at 1st November.

(257) Harris marks a monastery at Coleraine without the name of any founder, and assigns it to the 5th century, for which he had no authority. It is plain from *Tr. Th.* p. 146, that there was no religious establishment there of any kind, either see or monastery, until Corpreus became bishop, which he certainly did not until some time in the sixth century. We find in later times a monastery at Coleraine; but there is no account of its having been founded by Corpreus. (See below *Not.* 222 to *Chap.* xii)

(258) *Ec. c.* St. Cannera, above *Not.* 18. Liadania, §. 2. Briga §. 7. St. Brigid of Cluan-in-fidi, *Not.* 65 to *Chap.* ix.

(259) Finnian's Life, *cap.* 21.

(260) The place is now called *Reynagh*, and is near Banagher in the King's county.

(261) Finnian's Life, *cap.* 22. *Doire-macAidmécáin* signifies the wood (of oak) of the sons of Aidmécáin. Colgan confesses that he could not discover where it was situated; yet in his *Ind. Topogr.* to *AA. SS.* he places it in Meath, for no other reason, I am sure, than that he thought it was in the same province with Kill-regnaishe, which was in the ancient Meath. But from the manner, in which both places are spoken of in Finnian's life, it would appear that they were rather far distant from each other; and, even if they were not, there are parts of Connaught and Munster much nearer to Kill-regnaishe than very many places in Meath.

CHAPTER XI.

St. Ita—Her birth—Establishes a nunnery at Cluain Credhuil—Her miracles—Several actions of her life—St. Senan—St. Carthagh the elder—Abbot Nesson founder of the monastery of Mun-gret—Life of St. Columbkille—His first name Crimhthan changed to Columba—Goes to the school of St. Finnian of Maghbile—Studies under German in Leinster—and at Clonard under St. Finnian—Founds Doire Calgach—and Dair-magh or Durrogh—Ordained priest by St. Ethen of Cluainbile—Founded a monastery at Kells—Many monasteries said to have been founded by him—Unfounded story of Finnian's manuscript—of king Diermit's decision—and the defeat of his army through the prayers of St. Columba—St. Columba goes to Hy, and founds a monastery and church there—Founds monaste-ries in the island of Ethica—Visits Skey—Su-perintends the ecclesiastical affairs of the British Scots—Visits St. Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow—Inaugurates Aidan as king of the British Scots.

SECT. I.

ST. Ita, (1) who may justly be called the St. Bri-gid of Munster, was of the princely house of the Desii or Nandesii, in the now county of Waterford. Her father's name was *Kennfoelad*, her mother's *Necta*. (2) They were Christians, as appears from St. Ita having been baptized in her childhood. (3) The time of her birth is not recorded; but it must have been some years prior to A. D. 484, if it be true that she had for some time under her care *Bren-dan* of Clonfert when an infant. (4) Yet, unless we are to suppose that she lived to an extraordinary great

age, only a few years can be allowed for this priority of birth, and on the whole it may be laid down that she was born about the year 480. From her earliest year she appeared animated with the Holy Spirit, observing, besides other religious duties, even the fasts prescribed by the Church, and displayed an extraordinary degree of modesty, sedateness, and suavity of temper. It is related that, while she was still very young, a room, in which she was asleep, seemed to be all in a blaze, and that some persons, who hastened to extinguish what they thought to be fire, found it uninjured, and observed Ita, on awaking, to exhibit an Angelical form of exquisite beauty. Having reached the age fit for choosing a permanent state of life she applied to her mother, and, after expatiating on the divine commandments, requested of her to procure her father's permission to consecrate herself to Christ. The mother acted according to her request, but the father obstinately refused to comply with her wish, particularly as a noble and powerful young man had just made him a proposal for obtaining her in marriage. Ita then said to some people about her; "let my father have his own way for a while; I tell you that he will soon not only permit but order me to give myself up to Christ, and will allow me to go whithersoever I please for the purpose of serving God." Not long after she fasted for three days and nights, during which time she was assailed with constant attacks of the enemy of mankind, which she resisted with invincible firmness. On the third night her father was admonished in a vision not to oppose her inclination any longer; and accordingly without loss of time, after informing her of what had occurred to him, he advised her to take the veil immediately. Matters being thus settled she repaired to the church, and was there in due form clothed with the veil and enrolled in the list of consecrated virgins. (s) Some time after she prayed the Almighty to direct her in

what place she might best serve him, and was instructed in a vision to proceed to the territory of Hy-Conaill and to remain in the western part of it at the foot of the mountain Luachra. (6) Thither she went and fixed her residence in a retired spot, called *Chuain-Credhuil*, where she was soon visited by a number of pious maidens, who flocked from all parts of the territory to place themselves under her direction. Thus her nunnery was established in a short time, and it was most probably the first in that part of Ireland. (7)

(1) This saint's name is sometimes spelled *Ida*; for, as Colgan observes, the latter Irish writers often use *d* instead of the *t* of the ancients. Her being called *Mida* is easily understood, as it is merely a compound of the particle indicating affection and the name *Ida*. Instead of *Ita*, *Ida*, *Mida*, we meet with *Ite*, *Ide*, *Mide*. It has been written also *Ytha*; but all these are still the same name. The Life of St. Ita, which has been published by Colgan at 15 Jan. is very ancient, and is acknowledged as such even by the Bollandists, who thought it might have been written by the author of the Life of St. Pulcherius, and accordingly in the seventh century. (See *Comment. Præv. ad Vit. S. Pulcher. 13 Mart.*) Ware says (*Writers L. 1. c. 2.*) that the author lived in the close of the sixth century.

(2) *AA. SS. p. 72.*

(3) Life of St. Ita, cap. 1.

(4) See *Not. 101 to Chap. x.* Brendan is spoken of several times in St. Ita's Life, without any allusion to this part of his history, which is to be found only in what is called his own Life, a document much less respectable than the other.

(5) Life, cap. 5. It is not improbable that St. Declan of Ardmore was the bishop, from whom she received the veil. The time of her receiving it seems to have been in the early part of the sixth century, and when Declan presided over the Nandesi country.

(6) *Luachra* was rather a name of the district, in which that mountain is, than of the mountain itself. (See *Not. 84 to Chap. vi.*) A part of Hy-Conaill was so called apparently from its abounding in rushes. The barony of Connello or Connillo, in the

county of Limerick, is the ancient Hy-Conaill or, at least part of it. The southern division of this barony, or Upper Connello, was distinguished by the additional name Gaura, being called *Hy-Conaill Gaura*, and in a western part of this tract St. Ita formed her establishment.

(7) We may be allowed to suppose, that the want of a similar institution in those western parts was, in the order of Providence, the cause of St. Ita having been directed to settle there. Nunneries and establishments for the education of females had in all appearance, been formed already in her own country, particularly as St. Brigid had been there for some time. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 4. and ib. Not. 54.*)

§. 11. The chieftain and other principal persons of Hy-Conaill, on being informed of the extraordinary sanctity of St. Ita, waited upon her and offered to her a large tract of land around the house for the support of her establishment. She refused to accept of more than a small spot sufficient for a garden.

(8) As another instance of her disinterestedness it is related that, a wealthy man having laid before her, as an offering, a considerable sum of money, which he could not induce her to receive, she happened to touch it and then called for water to wash the hand, which had been as it were defiled by the contact of corruptible silver. She carried abstinence and fasting to such a pitch that it is said she was cautioned by an angel to be less abstemious for the future, and not to exhaust her frame by such excessive austerity. Several miracles, some of which are of an extraordinary kind, have been attributed to her. One of them is said to have been performed on a man called Feargus, whom she delivered by her prayers from excruciating pains in his eyes and whole body, which had brought him to almost the last extremity. (9) She was favoured with the gift of prophecy, and with the knowledge of persons, whom she had never seen, and of distant and secret occurrences. When Columbanus, a Leinster bishop, was on his way to pay

her a visit without his having given her any previous notice of it, she ordered an entertainment to be prepared, and on his arrival sent to ask for his episcopal benediction, before she could have known in an ordinary manner that he was a bishop, and mentioned other circumstances, which she could not have been apprized of except by supernatural means. A theft had been committed in a nunnery at a place called *Direo-Chuisgrigh*. (10) One of the nuns was unjustly accused of it ; but, as the matter was very obscure, the abbess and the whole community waited upon St. Ita to consult her. She immediately declared that the nun charged with the theft was innocent, and told them who was the guilty one. One of her own maidens had misbehaved and, having left the nunnery, rambled up and down until she was reduced to become a servant maid somewhere in Connaught. St. Ita, knowing by inspiration how she was situated and that she would do penance, if she had a proper opportunity, sent to her friend Brendan then at Clonfert to request that he would procure the poor creature's liberty. He accordingly did so, and sent her back to the nunnery, where St. Ita received her with great joy ; and every thing turned out as she had foreseen. She had a knowledge of some transactions even of the other world, a very remarkable instance of which is thus related. An uncle of her's having died, she sent for his eight sons, who lived in the Nandesi country, and, upon their waiting on her, said to them ; " Your father, who was my uncle, is, alas ! now suffering in the lower regions for his transgressions ; (11) and the manner, in which he is tormented, has been revealed to me. But let us do something for the good of his soul, that he may be delivered. I therefore desire that each of you do give, every day during this whole year, food and lamps to the poor for the benefit of his soul, and then at the end of the year return to me."

They, being wealthy, acted according to her injunction ; and, on their returning, she said ; “ Your father is half raised out of his situation through your alms and my prayers ; now go and repeat your donations during this year, and come to me again.” They did so, and then she told them that their father was quite out of the lower world, but that he was still without clothing; (12) because in his life time he had not given clothes to any one in the name of Christ. “ Now,” she said, “ let your alms for this year consist of clothes, that he may be clothed.” Having obeyed her orders they returned at the end of the year, and were informed by her that, through the great mercy of God, their alms and her prayers had been attended to, and that their father was then in the enjoyment of eternal rest. (13)

(8) *Life*, cap. 7. The text has “ *quatuor jugera in usus hor-
torum.*” According to a vulgar mode of translation this might be rendered *four acres*, &c. But I am not able to define the quantity of ground contained in the ancient Irish *juger* or *acre*.

(9) *Ib.* cap. 25. The author of the *Life* says, that the son of said Feargus was living in his time. This is one of the arguments adduced by Colgan and others for its antiquity.

(10) This place, of which no further account occurs, must have been, as appears from the narrative, not far from Cluain-Credhuil. The nunnery there was, in all probability, a branch of St. Ita's institution.

(11) The words in the text are ; “ *Heu nobis ! in poenis infernalibus pro commissis suis torquetur.*” The phrase, *infernal pains*, affords a very strong proof of the antiquity of the *Life*, whereas for many centuries back the Western Church has, instead of it, generally expressed such pains by the name of *purgatory*. A similar phrase is still retained in one of the prayers of the Mass for the dead ; “ *Libera Domine animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni, et de profundo lacu,*” &c. I need not tell the reader that the *infernus*, or *infernalibus* in the now quoted passages do not refer to the hell of the damned, out of which the

Church never expected any deliverance. This manner of speaking was used in consequence of an opinion held by many theologians, that not only the devils and the damned, but likewise the souls in a state of purgation are confined in subterraneous regions, yet with this difference, that the former are kept in its lowermost and deepest parts, while the place for the latter, although contiguous to it, is supposed to be higher up. (See Bellarmin *De Purgatorio*, Lib. 2, cap. 6.) But, as this place was still considered as under the earth, the name *infernus*, which signifies a lower region or tract, was often applied to it, in the same manner as it has been used also for the grave. Tertullian alluding to a soul, which would at last be removed to heaven, writes (*Lib. de Anima*, cap. 17.); "In carcerem te mandet infernum, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso."

(12) This means that, although he was freed from the purgatorial sufferings, yet his soul was not as yet in a state fit for enjoying the beatific vision and that heavenly clothing, of which St. Paul says, 2 Cor. v. 2. *We groan desiring to be clothed over with our habitation, which is from heaven.*

(13) *Life*, cap. 26.

§. III. This holy virgin had been once as far as Clonmacnois, and there received the body and blood of Christ from the hand of a worthy priest without its being known who she was. On its being afterwards discovered that she had been there, the priest, who had *immolated the host* which she received, (14) set out, with some other persons of the clerical order, for Cluain-Credhuil for the purpose of getting her blessing. One of them lost his sight on the way, but on their arrival at the nunnery, recovered it immediately through the intercession of St. Ita. She asked the same priest to sing mass in her presence, which done, she ordered the vestments, in which he had just *immolated* to be given to him. He said he could not take them, whereas their abbot Aeneas (15) had commanded them not to accept of any thing from her except her prayers. She answer-

ed that he would not be displeased at it, and then mentioned a circumstance, which she desired them to communicate to him, adding, that the abbot on hearing it would receive her present with joy. This induced the priest and his companions to take the vestments; and the affair ended as she told them it would. (16) Other holy abbots also of those times held her in high veneration. St. Comgan, supposed to be Comgan of Glean-ussen, (17) finding his end approaching, sent for St. Ita, and, in the persuasion that her attendance would be conducive to his eternal happiness, prevailed upon her to lay her hands upon his lips and to close his mouth at the moment of his death. (18) She was often visited by St. Luchtigherna abbot of Inistymon, (19) who on one occasion brought with him St. Lasrean abbot of Druimliag, (20) who not being known to the nuns was not welcomed by them at the gate. But St. Ita, although she had never seen him before, told them who he was and that he was as holy a man as Luchtigherna. (21) The great St. Brendan did not think it beneath him to consult her on the nature of Christian duties, and her answers were full of wisdom and discretion. (22) This extraordinary virgin, having reached a great age, called together her nuns, and told them that her end was near at hand. Not long after she was taken ill, and having given her blessing to them, and to the clergy and people of Hy-Conaill, departed this life on the 15th of January A. D. 570. (23) A crowd of people from the whole country assembled around her remains, and several miracles took place on the occasion. They were then deposited in her own monastery. The clergy and people of Hy-Conaill took St. Ita for their patron saint; (24) but the veneration, in which she has been held, extended far beyond that territory. (25)

(14) "*Qui immolavit hostiam, quam suscepit S. Ita.*"

(15) See *Not.* 184 to *Chap.* x.

(16) *Life*, *cap.* 17.

(17) See *Chap.* x. §. 14.

(18) From this anecdote it may be inferred that Comgan, although he had been abbot at Glean-ussen, ended his days in Thomond, his own country, and probably at Ceann-indis. (See *Not.* 245 to *Chap.* x. For it is hard to think, that he would have given St. Ita the trouble of going so great a distance as that between Glean-ussen and Cluain-Credhuil. On the other hand Ceann-indis could not be very far from the latter place, and was probably within a few miles of it, being separated by perhaps little more than the Shannon.

(19) In the barony of Corcomroe, county of Clare. The Irish Calendars mark the *Natalis* of St. Luch-tigherna at the 28th of April.

(20) This was most probably the same place as Drumlegagh in Kerry, where was formerly a very large wood, through which flowed the river Feal. (See Seward *ad loc.*) From this last circumstance it appears, that it was in that part of Kerry, which adjoins the county of Limerick, and consequently not far distant from Cluain Credhuil. It is odd, that Archdall, who has given us many monasteries that never existed, does not mention Druim-liag.

(21) St. Ita's *Life*, *cap.* 28. Lasrean is called son of Colman, to distinguish him from others of the same name. He is mentioned in the Calendars at 25 October. Concerning him and Luchtigherna see Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 72. Of either of them very little is known, except that the latter is said to have been a disciple of Ruadan of Lothra. (*ib.* p. 197.)

(22) See her *Life*, *cap.* 19.

(23) *AA. SS. p.* 72 The 4 Masters and other Annalists have A. 569, which is the same as our 570.

(24) *Life*, *cap.* 33. Another of their patrons was Senan of Iniscathay; and hence it is said (*ib.* *cap.* 6.), that the entire nation of Hy-Conaill was to belong to these two saints.

(25) Alcuin in one of his minor poems joins her with St. Brigid. (See *Not.* 96 to *Chap.* ix.) Colgan in the Appendix to her *Life* has collected divers testimonies and eulogiums to this purpose.

§. iv. Before leaving those western parts of Ireland it will not be amiss to conclude the history of St. Senan, who has been revered as the other great saint of that country, and one of the patrons of Hy-Conaill. (26) From this circumstance it appears, that Senan's jurisdiction, besides some parts to the North of the Shannon, comprized also districts lying on the South and S. E. side of said river. He was, as has been seen, (27) fixed in Iniscatthy since about the year 540, at which time he was rather advanced in life and not less than about 50 years of age. (28) To the account of his acts already given I find nothing worth while to add, until towards the close of his life. It is related that, perceiving the time to be not far distant, when he should leave this world, he determined on going to the monastery of his first master Cassidus or Cassidanus, (29) and to the nunnery of St. Scota, his paternal aunt, the daughter of Cobhthach, that he might apply more fervently to prayer in these retreats and prepare himself for his wished for departure. (30) On his way thither he turned off a little towards the church of Kill-eochaille for the purpose of visiting certain holy virgins, the daughters of one Naereus, who had received the veil from him. (31) Having performed his devotions in the church of St. Cassidus he was returning to Iniscatthy, when in a field near the church of Kill-eochaille he heard a voice announcing to him, that he was to be removed to heaven without delay. Accordingly he died on that very day, and his body remained at Kill-eochaille until the next, when several of the principal members of his monastery arrived and had it brought to Iniscatthy. (32) Notice of his death was then sent to the prelates, clergy, and principal persons of the neighbouring churches, and his obsequies were celebrated for an entire week. On the eighth day, several respectable members of the hierarchy and clergy (33) having come up from other parts, the remains of

the saint were deposited in his own church. This was the 8th of March, and to this day has been annexed his festival, although he is generally said to have died on the first. The year of his death is unknown ; but there can be no doubt that it was later than 544, which some writers have assigned for it. (34) Among his disciples some are mentioned, who became bishops, such as Dallan, Sedna or Sedonius, Erc, and Mola, concerning whom I find little or nothing recorded. (35) Senan was succeeded in the government of Iniscatthy by Odran, who does not appear to have been raised to the episcopal dignity. (36) The reputation of St. Senan has not been confined to Ireland, and his Acts have been published among those of the saints of Brittany, on the supposition, whether well founded or not, that he was the same as St. Sané, one of the chief patrons of the diocese of St. Pol de Leon. (37) Yet, notwithstanding the great fame of this saint, and in spite of the many monuments still recording his name and transactions in the island of Iniscatthy, a pseudo-antiquary of our days has had the impudence to write, that he was no other than the river Shannon personified. (38)

(26) See *Not.* 24.

(27) *Chap.* x. §. 1.

(28) It is probable that he was born about A. D. 488. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 4.) In the life of Kieran of Clonmacnois (*cap.* 22. *ap.* AA. SS. p. 543.) Senan is spoken of as old at the time of his receiving that visit, on which he supplied Kieran with a cloak. (See *Not.* 175 to *Chap.* x.) It could not have taken place later than the early part of 549, the year in which Kieran died. If the Brendan, who on another occasion (See *Not. cit.*) waited, together with Kieran, on Senan, was Brendan of Clonfert, it would follow that Senan was born prior to 484, being represented as older than said Brendan. But it seems more probable that he was Brendan of Birr (See *Chap.* x. §. 8.), whereas from the manner, in which Kieran and Brendan are spoken of on that occasion, it would appear, that they were both abbots, and lived not very far from each

other. This will not answer for Brendan of Clonfert, who was not abbot there until after Kieran's death. (See *Not.* 110 to *Chap.* x.) Nor is there any account of his having been, prior to his settling at Clonfert, abbot any where else in Ireland, at least in those parts, which were not far distant from Kieran's establishments of Inis-aingin and Clonmacnois. Brendan of Clonfert was probably in Brittany at the time of this visit to Senan. (See *Chap.* x. §. 7.) Now every circumstance accords with the supposition, that Brendan of Birr was the person, who then accompanied Kieran. He was, in all probability, an abbot before Kieran died. Birr is within a few miles of Clonmacnois; and, if we should suppose that Kieran was still abbot of Inis-aingin, when he set out for Iniscathay, Birr lies not much out of the road, by which he must have passed, so that he and Brendan might, with little inconvenience, have met for the purpose of travelling together. What has been now observed will help to clear up two points of the history of Brendan of Birr; 1st. as to the time of his birth, which must be placed after that of Senan, and perhaps about the year 500; 2dly, that of his founding the monastery of Birr, which, in this hypothesis, was prior to the death of Kieran in 549.

(29) See *Chap.* ix. §. 4. It is not to be imagined that Casidus was alive at this time; but the monastery retained his name.

(30) Second Life of Senan, *cap.* 42. The nunnery seems to have been not far from the monastery, which was in the district called *Irras*. (See *Not.* 52 to *Chap.* ix.)

(31) Colgan thought that Kill-eochaille might have been the same as Kill-nac-cillech, *cell of the nuns*, in the county of Clare not far from Iniscathay; and that the daughters of Naereus were perhaps those of Nateus mentioned by Aengus Kelideus. These conjectures, particularly the former, are very probable; but Archdall had no right (at *Kilnagallegh*) to change them into positive facts.

(32) *Life*, *cap.* 42.

(33) Among them is reckoned in the Second life (*cap.* 43.) Deron bishop of Limerick. But there was neither a bishop nor city of Limerick in those days. As to the city, Ferrar could not find any thing authentic concerning it until the middle of the 9th century. (*Hist. of Limerick*, p. 3.) And as to its see, neither

Ware nor Harris were able to discover any undoubted bishop there before Gillebert, who lived in the eleventh. For as to St. Munchin or Manchan, it is more than probable that he was not bishop of Limerick; and, even if he was, as some say, its first bishop, the see was not yet formed in Senan's time; whereas Munchin lived in the seventh century. It is to be observed that the author of the Second life lived at a very late period and after the arrival of the English in Ireland, when Limerick had become a respectable city. In the first or metrical life, which is more ancient, the names of the bishops and abbots, who attended at Senan's funeral, are not given.

(34) This is the date assigned by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) and, after him, by Harris and Archdall. Usher held that St. David of Wales died in that year; but it has been shown (*Chap. ix. §. 9.*) that his calculations were wrong, and that St. David was alive many years after. Then having read in the metrical Life of Senan, that he died on the same identical day that David did, he very naturally placed his death also in 544. Upon the same principle Colgan maintains (*Not. 19 to said Life at 8 Mart.*), that Senan must have lived to, at least, the year 580, whereas David did not die until about that time. I am inclined to think that Senan died some years earlier than David; nor do I find any reason for what is said of their having died in the same year, except that they both happened to die on a first of March. Hence it was said that they died on the same day; and this, instead of being understood relatively to corresponding days of different years, was easily mistaken for one day of one and the same year. The said Life, in which *alone* this identity of day is mentioned, has a story about David's death having been revealed to Senan at the very moment it happened, and his then lying down to die, whereas they had agreed not to survive each other. This is a strange and incredible story, as if indeed it depended on them to leave this world whenever they pleased; nor is there a word about it in the second Life or in the accounts of Senan given in the *Calendara*. (See *AA. SS. p. 543.*) If it were true that Senan had been for some time with St. Maidoc of Ferns, as stated in the second Life (*cap. 18.*) he should have lived until the latter end of the 6th century. But in this there is a huge anachronism; for his being with Maidoc is placed long before the foundation of Inis-

cathay, at which time the latter was not yet born. (See *Not. 5. to Chap. x.*) It is probable that he died about the year 560; whereas we do not find, that he is said to have lived to a very great age, and it is stated that he was of a sickly constitution. (*AA. SS. p. 544.*) Nor is he mentioned as having had transactions with any of the eminent saints, who flourished in the South of Ireland after about that time, except Brendan of Birr who died in 571, (See *Chap. x. §. 8.*) and whose visit to Senan could not have been later than 549. (above *Not. 28.*) On the other hand it is difficult to suppose that he died much sooner than 560, as from the respectability, to which he raised the monastery of Iniscathay, it is fair to conclude that he governed it for, at least, about 20 years after its foundation about or somewhat prior to A. D. 540.

(35) Colgan treats of Sedna at 10 March. He thinks that he was the same as a St. Sedna, son of Eren, and native of a district in Munster, called *Altraighe Cliach*. Could it have been in what is now called the barony of Duhallow in the county of Cork? *Altraighe* is probably a compound of *Al* and *traighe* (shore or bank), and thus means the tract lying along the river Al or Allo, which flows through that barony. This Sedna presided over a church at a place called Cluan (not to be confounded with Cloyne) between the mountains Crot and Maige also in Munster, but was buried at Kinsale. There is a parish called Clonmene in Duhallow, and in it is a range of mountains now called St. Hilary's. (See Smith's *Cork, vol. 1. p. 302.*) Sedna's being buried in Kinsale was probably owing to his having spent his last days there in the monastery founded by his brother St. Goban, who had been a disciple of the great Albe of Emly. Smith is wrong (*ib. p. 227.*) in making Colgan say that Goban was abbot at Kinsale in the seventh century. The Goban of that century was, as Colgan lays down, a quite different person, and is, together with Goban of Kinsale, treated of by him at 26 March. Archdall (at *Kinsale*)), instead of Sedna, has Senan as buried there. This is, I believe, an error of the press; for (at *Cluain*) Sedna is the person mentioned. Another brother of Sedna was St. Melteoc, who was revered at Kinsale as one of its patrons on the 11th of December (*AA. SS. p. 573.*) This is, I dare say, the St. Multos, whose name the parish church of Kinsale bears,

and not a female saint, whom Smith (*ib.*) calls *Multosia*. As to bishop Erc, Colgan thought he might have been Erc of Domnach-mor-muighe Luadhat. (See *Not.* 97 to *Chap.* x.) Concerning Dallan and Mola I can find nothing satisfactory.

(36) In the second life of Senan (*cap.* 42.) we find Odran joined in the same sentence with Erc and Mola, who are expressly called bishops, while no such title is given to him. Colgan indeed (*AA. SS.* p. 542) gives it to him, for no other reason, as far I can discover, except his supposing that, as Senan had been a bishop, Odran should have been one also. Harris has, as usual, copied Colgan. (*Bishops*, p. 502) But there is nothing more common in our Church history of those times than to find some abbots raised to the episcopal rank, although their successors were not. In the very passage (said Life, *cap.* 43) where the appointment of Odran is particularly mentioned, he is called simply *abbot to preside over the monks*. Nor had Colgan a better right to state, that he flourished about A. D. 580, as he had no authority for this date except his hypothesis concerning the year of Senan's death. (See above *Not.* 33.)

(37) Albert Le Grand, who drew up these Acts, was of that opinion. Colgan was not able to come to any decision on the subject. (See *AA. SS.* p. 528.) Lobineau says (*Hist. de Bretagne*, Tom. 1, p. 76), that of St. Sané scarcely any thing is known except his name. There is no proof that Senan ever lived in Britanay; but his fame might have easily reached that country, considering the great intercourse then kept up between it and Ireland. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 12.) Yet, as that was not the land of his residence, it is not to be wondered at, that his history was but imperfectly known there.

(38) The reader will easily guess, that I allude to Ledwich. For who else would dare to announce such a notorious and ridiculous falsehood? He says (*Antiq. &c.* p. 32; "We had made of the Shannon, saint Senanus; of the town of Down, saint Dunus," &c. This nonsense appears as corroborative of his endeavours to transform St. Kevin into a mountain. (See *Not.* 147 to *Chap.* x.) How is it possible to argue against such barefaced lies? Could this charlatan have been so ignorant of Irish history as not to know, that *Senan* was a very common name of persons in Ireland? Colgan reckons (*AA. SS.* p. 541) about 20 distin-

guished men of that name in former times. Surely all these were not the river Shannon. Besides, *Senan* was not the real name of the river. In Ptolomy's map it is called *Senus*, but the Irish name for it was *Sionna* (*Life of Fintan of Clonenagh*, cap. 3.) or *Seinnon*, which used to be latinized into *Sinannus* or *Sinennus*, as we find it written in the second *Life of Senan* himself, in which he is constantly called *Senanus*. Supposing, however, that the names were the same, how could the quack have proved his assertion? Does he mean to drive out of existence hundreds of Irish families, that bear the name of *Shannon*? According to his mode of treating antiquities many a person should be changed into rivers. The celebrated St. Nilus, with whom Senan was nearly contemporary, would have been a phantom and nothing more than the river Nile personified. Where did Ledwich find St. Dunus? Charles O'Connor has told him (*Reflections, &c. in the Collectan. Vol. 3.*), that there was no Irish saint of that name. But even if there had been one, why make him the same as Down personified? It would be more natural to suppose that a St. Dunus had been of some family of the Duns, of whom there are great numbers in Ireland. As I have touched on this impudent manner of treating subjects of antiquity, in which Ledwich is followed by a whimsical English writer called Faber, who has given us a rhapsody on the Cabiri, let me add another sample of his sweeping mode of exterminating saints. In a Note (p. 36.) he says; "Just such saints were St. Bron, St. Lhygad or Lugad, St. Genocus, St. Breca. Colgan compared with Lhuyd, *Advers. sub fin. Basteri Gloss.*" A reader, who may not have an opportunity of consulting Colgan's works or Lhuyd's *Adversaria*, would perhaps be inclined to think, that these writers were favourable to Ledwich's position. Now the whole business comes to this. Lhuyd states that *Bron*, a Welsh word signifying *breast*, enters into the name of some mountains in Wales. Hence Ledwich would fain conclude, that there was no such person as a St. Bron bishop of Cassel-irra, although he is mentioned over and over in Irish history, particularly in the lives of St. Brigid, and not only the year but the very day of his death has been marked in our Annals. (See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*) By a similar sort of logic he strives to change Lugad also into a Welsh mountain. He roguishly calls him *Lhygad*, a name of Welsh spelling not

received in the Irish language. But *Lhygod* means an eye, and occurs in the name of a mountain in Wales. Therefore St. Lugad was a mountain. Bravo! Which of the St. Lugads does he allude to? for we had seven or eight of them, some of whom are mentioned by Adamnan. Why not as well change our kings and chieftains into mountains, as many of them bore the name of *Lugad*? The attack on St. Genoeus will, I dare say, be resented by the Welsh if ever they chance to meet with Ledwich's book of lies; whereas this saint was a countryman of theirs, and came to Ireland with Finnian of Clonard. (See *Chap. ix. §. 8 and ib. Not. 125.*) But our Doctor, or somebody for him, happened to find that Lhuyd has the Welsh word *Genau* (mouth) as a part of some compound names used as to mountains. Ergo there was no such person as St. Genoe. In the very same page of Lhuyd they found that *Braich* (arm) is often used in like manner. Then another saint was looked out for, in the design of transforming him also into a mountain. The first, that fell in their way, was St. Breccan or rather Brecus, who is mentioned among the relatives of St. Ita by Colgan, *AA. SS. p. 73.* where his genealogy is given and the 15th of January is marked as the day, on which his name appears in the Calendars. Ledwich might as well have fallen foul of some of the Breccans; but as there were several persons so called he thought it more advisable to pitch upon Brecus. Yet this name was not peculiar to the saint; for Irish history supplies us with some distinguished namesakes of his. I have taken the trouble of showing by what sort of process this audacious quack has endeavoured to extract from Lhuyd the above given passage, a process which he artfully concealed from the reader, who will now be able to judge what is to be thought of a *soi-disant* Reverend Doctor, who, while dealing out lies by bushels for the purpose of misleading the public, has the diabolical effrontery to denounce others as guilty of clerical imposture, pious frauds, &c. and who labours to overturn the most authentic facts by conjectures and etymological quibbles, in the same manner and upon the same principles, that some late petty *philosophes* have done in their impious attempts to show, that there never appeared on earth such a person as our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

§. v. St. Carthagh, or, as some call him, Carthah the elder, is said to have flourished about the year 540. He was grandson of Aengus king of Cashel, (39) and educated under St. Kieran of Saigir. This does not well agree with the supposition of his having been distinguished as early as that year, unless it should be admitted that Kieran had been his preceptor before he became bishop in that place. (40) Nor will this seem improbable, if it be recollected that Kieran was a native of Munster, (41) and that Saigir was also in that province. (42) Accordingly Kieran might have been well known, in an early part of his life, at the court of Cashel, and entrusted with the care of the young prince Carthagh immediately after he had himself left Finnian's school of Clonard about, perhaps, the year 532. (43) It appears that Carthagh was young, probably not more than 17 or 18 years of age, when he was first placed under St. Kieran. (44) Some time after it happened that he and a female pupil of St. Liedania (45) conceived a violent passion for each other; but, their plan for indulging it having been miraculously thwarted, they both repented, and a part of the penance enjoined on Carthagh by Kieran was that he should absent himself from Ireland for some time. He then went to Gaul, and in that country, but in what particular part of it we are not informed, spent some years in the practices of a penitential life and in the study of the holy scriptures. (46) Having returned to Ireland he was welcomed with great joy by Kieran, who was by this time a bishop, and probably remained with him for some time. He seems to have received holy orders not long after, and, as can scarcely be doubted, from Kieran himself. Some monasteries or churches are mentioned, which he is said to have governed. (47) It is related that Kieran a little before his death entrusted and recommended the care of his monks to Carthagh, whence it has been concluded that he succeeded Kie-

ran immediately as bishop of Saigir. The matter, however, is very doubtful; and it is more probable that, whatever superintendence Carthagh might have exercised for some time in that place, it was rather that of a friend than of a bishop. (48) Nor can the time be determined, at which he presided in any manner over the monastery of Saigir. (49) Carthagh undoubtedly became a bishop in course of time, but when or by whom he was consecrated we cannot discover. His see or the scene of his episcopal exertions was in Kerry near the river Mang. (50) In that country he met with young Mochuda, otherwise Carthagh junior, (51) who afterwards became so renowned as abbot of Rathen and first bishop of Lismore. He took him under his care and kept him with himself as a favourite disciple, until, when properly instructed and duly qualified, he raised him to the order of priesthood. St. Carthagh was old when he ordained Mochuda, and probably died not long after. The year of his death is not known; but it can scarcely be supposed to have been prior to 580. (52) His name is marked in the calendars at the 5th of March, on which day his festival was celebrated in many churches. (53)

(39) Colgan has endeavoured to give some Acts of this saint at 5 March. They are very imperfect. In several Irish Calendars he is called son of Aengus, owing perhaps to his having been spoken of as descended from him, and called a child of his. But it is more probable that he was his grandson, as expressly stated in the lives of Kieran of Saigir, in which he is often mentioned. Unless we should suppose that he was born but a very short time before the death of Aengus, who was killed in 490, it would be difficult to believe that he was his son, whereas it appears that he must have lived until about 580.

(40) See *Chap. x. §. 2.* Colgan calculated that Carthagh was under Kieran's care before the year 489, the year, in which, according to his mode of counting, Aengus was killed. He was led astray by one of those anachronisms, with which the Acts of

Kieran abound. Aengus, Kieran, and Carthagh his disciple being spoken of as living at one and the same time. After all that we have seen about Kieran, I need not tell the reader that most probably he was not born until after Aengus' death.

(41) See *Chap. 1. §. 14.* (42) *Chap. x. §. 2.*

(43) Kieran was very probably one of Finnian's first scholars at Clonard. Supposing that he had spent two or three years at that school, not in elementary studies, but in acquiring what was taught there, *viz.* theological learning, he might have left it about 532, whereas said school was opened about or perhaps somewhat prior to 530.

(44) This circumstance shows that it is not only very probable, but certain that Carthagh was not an immediate son of king Aengus. It can scarcely be admitted that he became a pupil of Kieran until about A. D. 532. Being then not yet 20 years old, how could he have been a son of that king? (Compare with *Nor. 39.*)

(45) See *Chap. x. §. 2.*

(46) According to some accounts he visited Rome during that time.

(47) One of these churches was at Druim-fertain or Ferdhaim in Carbria Hua Kiarrdha. Colgan has (*Ind. Chron. ad A.A. SS.*) a Carbria at the boundary of the ancient Meath and Connaught. Instead of *Carbria Hua Kiarrdha* the Calendar of Cashel has *Carbria Midensis*. Colgan mentions (*A.A. SS. p. 142*) Carbria Tefiæ, of which perhaps that called Hua-Kiarrdha was a part. Tefiæ comprized, besides the county of Longford, a great part of Westmeath. Druim-fertain was probably in some part of that extensive territory and perhaps not far distant from Lough Shelin or Sillin, in an island of which, called *Inisvachuir*, Carthagh is said to have had also a church. Archdall had no authority, not even Colgan's, for assigning the foundation of this church, or, as he calls it, abbey, to about the year 540. Another church, called *Kill-Carthaich*, is in one account reckoned among those, which he founded or governed. It was in Tirconnel, now Donegall. I suspect that this church got its name rather from some other Carthaich or Carthagh than from him, whom we are now treating of. The Calendar of Cashel, which may be considered as good authority with regard to him, has it not among his churches. And the

great distance of that place from our Carthagh's country cannot but excite a doubt on the subject. Archdall's assertion (at *Kilchartach*) that he was bishop there, and about A. D. 540, does not rest on any sufficient authority.

(48) Colgan founds his position of Carthagh having succeeded Kieran as bishop upon an Irish life of the latter, in which is mentioned his having recommended his monks to the former. (See *AA. SS.* p. 475.) But might not Carthagh have taken care of them for a while without being bishop of Saigir? Neither in the Calendar of Cashel, nor in those of Marian Gorman, Donegall, and others, in which Carthagh is uniformly styled *alumnus* of Kieran, does he ever appear as his *comorban* or successor, notwithstanding the constant practice of our calendarists to mark distinctly the circumstance of a disciple succeeding his master in a *sep*, whenever it occurred. The immediate successor of Kieran as bishop of Saigir was most probably Setna or Sedna (different from the Sedna above treated of, *Not.* 35.); and Colgan himself seems to have thought so; for he says (*AA. SS.* p. 473.), that he flourished about A. D. 570. Archdall (at *Seirkeran*) in his usual incorrect manner quotes Colgan as if saying, that Sedna *died* in 570. Colgan writes not *died*, but *flourished*. Then, instead of the 10th of March, which Colgan assigns for his festival, Archdall makes him die on the first. Sedna was certainly bishop at Saigir before the death of Carthagh. Now, if Carthagh was ever bishop there, how shall we account for his having left that see? For, as will soon appear, Carthagh, after being consecrated bishop, did not, on any occasion that we know of, withdraw from his episcopal functions. Ware indeed (*Bishops at Ossory*) has Carthagh bishop of Saigir; but, I believe, merely on the authority of Colgan.

(49) Colgan, following his ill-proved hypothesis, says (p. 473) that Carthagh became bishop of Saigir in the year 540. His reason for assigning this date was his having supposed, that Kieran died about that year. (*ib.* p. 466.) But we have seen (*Chap.* x. §. 2.), that Kieran lived for several years later. If Colgan had not swallowed the silly stories about Kieran having been contemporary with St. Patrick, he would not have guessed that he died as early as 540, or that Carthagh was promoted in said year. It was this date running in Archdall's head, that induced him here and there to affix various transactions of Carthagh to about 540. (See

above *Not.* 47.) Harris has made the matter still worse by telling us (at *Ossory*, p. 402.) that Carthagh is said to have died about 540; although Colgan, his guide, expressly shows (*AA. SS.* p. 476.), that he must have been still alive after that period.

(50) Colgan has not the name of the particular place, in which Carthagh resided. He mentions a monastery called *Thuaim*, in which the saint was on a certain occasion. But it appears rather as a place, in which he and his companions happened to be entertained, than as that of his usual abode. Yet, as is plain from the narrative, *Thuaim* was in the neighbourhood of the river Mang. Colgan therefore is wrong in saying that it might have been the same as *Tuaim-nava*, *alias* *Iniscarra*. (See *AA. SS.* p. 533.) This place is in the barony of Barrets (co. Cork) far distant from the river Mang. There is a mountain in the barony of Dunkerron (Kerry) called *Toomish*, to which the name *Thuaim* may perhaps have some reference. That St. Carthagh was bishop in Kerry can be collected also from other circumstances, *ex. c.* the mention of the chieftains of *Kiarraighe*, and of the shore of *Leamhna*, which can be no other than Lough Lean or the lake of Killarney.

(51) Life of Mochuda quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 475.) Mochuda was, as will be seen in its proper place, a native of Kerry, and was living in his own country when he met with bishop Carthagh. Thus we have an additional proof of what has been observed concerning Carthagh's see.

(52) Mochuda lived until the year 637; and it does not appear that he was of an extraordinary age when he died. Allowing him sixty years of priesthood, which is much more than the usual average, his ordination would have taken place in 577, at which time the ordainer St. Carthagh was not only alive, but although old, still able to exercise the episcopal duties. Thus then it is plain that Carthagh must have lived until about 580.

(53) Besides the churches said to have been governed by Carthagh, the Calendar of Cashel mentions one dedicated to him at a place called *Inis-Carthach* near Lismore. It is natural to suppose that, as he had been the master and instructor of the great Mochuda, his memory was revered in that district.

§. VI. Another distinguished saint of the South of Ireland, contemporary with Senan, and partly

with Carthagh, was Nessen abbot, and most probably founder of the monastery of Mungret near Limerick. (54) The early history of this saint is involved in obscurity; for we cannot admit the story of his having become a disciple of St. Patrick, when in Munster; as if Nessen could have been a grown up young man about the year 450. (55) He may, at least in part, be said to have been a disciple of St. Ailbe of Emly, with whom he used to converse upon theological subjects and questions, the solution of which he was anxious to learn. (56) At the time of these conversations he could not have been very young; and it may fairly be inferred that he was born before the beginning of the 6th century. (57) It is also probable that he was then, or at least before Ailbe's death, abbot at Mungret (58) He never rose higher in the church than to the rank of Deacon, by which title he was known not only during his life-time, but likewise ever since (59) Yet his reputation was so great, that he has been considered as one of the fathers of the Irish church; (60) and therefore it can scarcely be doubted that he was the Nessen named in the second class of saints. (61) He died in the year 552; (62) and his festival was celebrated at Mungret on the 25th of July. (63) This monastery became very eminent, and is said to have contained at one time a prodigious number of monks. (64) Not long after the death of St. Nessen we find marked that of some other distinguished persons, concerning whom, however, very little is known. St. Cathub, abbot of Achad-cinn in the now county of Antrim, whose memory was revered on the 6th of April, died in 555. (65) The death of St. Bec or Beg surnamed Mac-De, or son of De, is assigned to 558. (66) This saint was distinguished by the gift of prophecy. He was of the house of Orgiel or Oriel, and his name is marked in the Calendars at the 12th of October. (67) To the same year is affixed also the

death of a St. Aidan Hua Fiachra, (68) of whom I cannot discover any further account.

(54) We have already shown (*Not. 79. to Chap. vi.*) the absurdity of the opinion that St. Patrick founded this monastery for Nessan. Nor is there any reason to think that there was any such monastery established there either by St. Patrick, as Harris states, or by any one else before the times of Nessan, who ought, I believe, be considered as the founder of it.

(55) See *Chap. vi. §. 8. ib. Not. 79.*

(56) Life of Ailbe *ap. Usher, p. 961.*

(57) Ailbe died in the year 527. How long before his death he held these theological conversations with Nessan, we are not informed. Supposing them to have been in 520, and that Nessan was then 80 years old, (for he could hardly have been less when qualified for such conferences) we would thus have his birth in 440, about which year it is probable he came into the world.

(58) In the passage referred to (*Not. 56*) Nessan is styled *egregius et sanctissimus*. If, as seems very probable, it was meant to apply these epithets as suiting him at the time of those conversations, it will follow that he was then of a mature age. Yet we cannot mark the precise time, in which he formed his establishment at Mungret, while it is undeniable that he was abbot in that place. (See Tripart. Life of St. Patrick, *L. 3. c. 42.*)

(59) Besides the Tripartite, *loc. cit.* we have the authority of the third Life of St. Patrick, *cap. 61.* in which he is spoken of; "Nesan qui nunc dicitur *Dechon Nesan.*" Aengus Kelideus (*ap. AA. SS. p. 629.*) reckons him among the holy deacons.

(60) In Cummian's Paschal Epistle Nessan is joined with Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnois, &c. That this was Nessan of Mungret, cannot be called in question, whereas Cummian alludes to saints who left great establishments after them, and particularly in places not far distant from the Shannon. Now there was no other Nessan in those parts of Ireland, to whom these circumstances could apply.

(61) *Chap. x. §. 4.* Usher (*p. 961.*) applies to Nessan of that class what is said in Ailbe's life concerning the deacon Nessan, and, I dare say, justly. He confounds him with one Nessan, who, he thought, had led a recluse life in the small island called

Ireland's eye. This is a mistake, which Usher was led into by a passage, which he quotes from John Alan, archbishop of Dublin. There was no St. Nesson in that island; but we find that three holy men, sons of Nesson of the royal house of Leinster, inhabited it in the seventh century. Their names were Dichull, Muniss, and Nealg; and their memory was revered there on the 15th of March, at which day Colgan treats of them. The island, which seems to have been originally called *Inis-Faithlenn*, got from them the name of *Inis-mac-Nesson*, or Island of the sons of Nesson, *insula filiorum Nessani*, as it appears in a brief of Pope Alexander III. to St. Laurence O'Tool. (*Fet. Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, Ep. 48.) This name has been sometimes contracted into *Inis-Nesson*. From what has been now observed it is plain, that Harris was wrong in attributing a monastery there in the 6th century to a St. Nesson. Archdall goes further, and says that he founded it about A. D. 570. There is not the slightest authority for this statement, nor for what he adds concerning St. Nesson's church, instead of which he should have written, the church of the sons of Nesson. Seward (at *Ireland's eye*) has copied, as he often does, part of Archdall's mistakes.

(62) Colgan, following the 4 Masters, has 551 (552.) See *Tr. Th.* p. 32 and 186. and *AA. SS.* p. 192. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) reckons, by mere conjecture, Nesson among some persons, who, he says, flourished in the year 570. He had not seen the Irish Annals, in which the year of Nesson's death is distinctly marked. It was Usher's conjectural 570, that poor Archdall was thinking of. (See *Not. Prec.*)

(63) *Tr. Th.* p. 186.

(64) See Archdall at *Mungret*. It is strange that Ware has not made mention of this monastery.

(65) *AA. SS.* p. 192. There is a story concerning Cathul having lived to the age of about 150 years. It was, I suspect, patched up in consequence of his having been confounded with a priest Cathbad, who is said to have been in St. Patrick's time. (See *Not. 92. to Chap. vi.*)

(66) *AA. SS.* p. 192. I have marked 558, as being the same, for the 557 of the 4 Masters.

(67) *AA. SS.* p. 713.

(68) *Ib.* p. 192.

§. VII. To return to the second class of Irish saints, we may now enter upon the life of the great Columbkil, who is mentioned in it after some other saints already treated of (69) and who had been born before him. Colgan and others have published several lives of this saint, (70) from which, with the aid of other documents, I shall endeavour to extract whatever appears most authentic relatively to his transactions. We read that his birth and future greatness had been foretold many years before he came into the world. (71) His origin was of the highest rank according to the usual notions of mankind. By his father's side he was descended from Niall Neigiallach, being the son of Fedhlimid who was a great grandson of that monarch. (72) His mother Aethena, daughter of Macanava, (73) was of an illustrious and princely house of Leinster. (74) It is related, that, before she was delivered of him, an Angel appeared to her in a dream, bringing a robe or cloak of extraordinary beauty, which, after presenting to her, he soon after took away, and, spreading it out, let fly through the air. On her asking him what reason he had for depriving her of it, the Angel answered that it was of too magnificent a nature to be left with her. She then observed it as if expanding itself far and wide over plains, mountains, and forests, and heard these words; "Woman do not grieve; for you shall bring into the world a son, who is to be a guide of innumerable souls, and will be reckoned as one of God's prophets." (75) As to the year of his birth, there are various opinions, of which the most probable is that it was A. D. 521. (76) It is said that he was born at Gartan, (77) and baptized in the church of Tulachdubhglaisse by a holy priest Crothnechan. (78) According to some accounts his first name was *Crimthan*, which, by reason of his dove-like simplicity and innocence of life, was afterwards changed into *Columba*. (79) To this was in course of time added the surname

Cille or *Kille*, on account of the number of monasteries which he founded; (80) and by which he has been distinguished from other holy men of the same name. When very young he was entrusted to the care of a respectable priest, with whom he lived (81) near, as it is said, the church of Kill-mac Renain. (82) On a certain occasion the clergyman had, after the celebration of mass, returned to his habitation observed it illuminated with a clear light, and saw a globe of fire suspended over the face of his pupil; upon which he threw himself, in an act of veneration, on the floor, well knowing that this phenomenon indicated the divine grace abundantly shed on young Columba. (83) In fact, he exhibited from his earliest years a true Christian spirit and application to useful studies, without being defiled by any stain of sin. (84) We are told that, when still a small boy, he recited the psalms together with Brugacius bishop at Rath-enaigh, whither he had accompanied his preceptor, whom the bishop had invited to celebrate the festival of Christmas. (85)

(69) See *Chap. x. §. 13.*

¶ (70) The *Lives* published by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga* are five in number. The first is rather short, and, properly speaking, cannot be called a regular history. It is, according to a mode of writing very prevalent with old authors of the Acts of saints, a sort of dissertation, in which several anecdotes are recorded without scarcely any attention to chronological order. Colgan was right in supposing that it was the most ancient of all the so called *Lives* of Columbkille, and once thought it might have been that written by Cumineus Albus, which is quoted by Adamnan. But he preferred attributing it to some other author, whom, however, he was not able to identify. Yet there can be no doubt of its being the work of Cumineus, and as such it has been republished by Mabillon in the *AA. SS. Benedict. Tom. 1.* and from him by Pinkerton, *Vitae antiquae sanctorum—Scot. &c.* In both these editions he is called not *Cumineus* but *Cuminus*. The names are the same, having been latinized from the original

Cumia. The passage referred to by Adamnan occurs in the 5th chapter of this tract, although with some variation of words. Mabillon took his edition from a M.S. of the monastery of Compeigne, whereas Colgan followed the manuscript Supplement of Belfortius to Surian. Cumianus *Albus*, or *White*, became abbot of Hy in the year 657 (Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) and accordingly was a different person from Cumnian the author of the Paschal epistle (See *Chap. II. §. 5.*) with whom he has been strangely confounded by Colgan (*A.A. SS. ad 22 Feb.*) Harris (*Writers at Cumnian*), and even by the Bollandists at the 18th of April (Life of St. Leanneus), although Bollandus himself had (at 24 Feb. p. 429) spoken of them as distinct persons. And that they were is evident from the diversity of style, which we find on comparing the Life of Columbkille with the Paschal epistle. That of the former is easy, flowing, and abounding in round periods, while the style of the latter is concise, metaphorical, with an affectation of rare phrases and Hellenisms, such as *Johannis petalini—inouiti logii bifuris*, &c. Add, that the monks of Hy did not receive the Roman cycle until many years after the death of Cumianus albus, as will be seen hereafter, and that it is by no means probable they would have chosen for their abbot so great a stickler for that cycle as the author of the Paschal epistle. It is strange that so learned a man as Mabillon could have headed the Life by Cumianus with calling him abbot of Hy in *Anglia*. Surely the little island Hy was never considered as comprised in England.

The second Life, as Colgan calls it, is plainly a compound of two distinct works. The saint's death is circumstantially related in the 19th chapter; and yet we find it treated of again in what Colgan marks the 35th, where some circumstances occur not mentioned in the former. The fact is, that the 19th chapter is the conclusion of an entire tract in itself, which seems to have been written by a foreigner, as a proof of which I will adduce only one passage, in which the author takes particular care to point out the situation of Hy, which he calls "*Insulam Jonam, quae in septentrionali oceano inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sita est.*" (*Cap. 6.*) A person writing in Hy or in Ireland would not have thought it necessary to be so precise. The author lived probably at a time when Ireland was more generally known by the

name of *Hibernia*, than of *Scotia*. In a parallel passage, in which Cumineus (*cap.* 12.) and Adamnan (*L. 3. c.* 17. Colgan's *ed.*) have *Scotia*, he introduces (*cap.* 12.) *Hibernia*. His work is a sort of biographical memoir, in which, considering its brevity, the series of transactions is tolerably attended to, and has been borrowed chiefly from the Life by Adamnan, with some additions from later documents. The remaining part of what Colgan exhibits as the second Life is by a different hand and in a less correct style. The author has taken almost the whole of it from Adamnan, and seems to have been a monk of Hy. But neither of these parts can by any means be attributed to Cumineus albus, whom Colgan imagined to be the author of the whole. Besides our having seen that the first Life is the real one written by Cumineus, the former part of the second bears evident marks, as now observed, of a period much later than that, in which Cumineus lived. The latter part, or from the 19th chapter to the end, is probably much more ancient than the former; but no argument occurs for ascribing it to Cumineus. Dr. O'Connor, following Colgan, quotes (*Colombanus's Third letter, p.* 55) as if from the Life by Cumineus, or, as he calls him, Cumman, a passage, in which St. Patrick is mentioned as having blessed the grandfather and great grandfather of St. Columba. Said passage is not in that Life, but in the first chapter of the second, which Colgan had erroneously announced under the name of Cumineus. Nor is it the Life in which the quoted passage occurs, that has been republished by Mabillon, as the work of Cumineus. For what Mabillon calls the Life by Cumineus is as already seen, the identical one, which Colgan names the *first*.

The third Life is by Capgrave or rather Johannes Tilmuthensis, and is merely copied from Bede and Adamnan.

To the fourth place Colgan has assigned the celebrated Life by Adamnan, which is really an excellent work, and a genuine composition, notwithstanding the falsehoods and sneers of the ignorant pseudo-critic Ledwich. (See *Chap.* II. §. 8.) It was first published by Canisius, in the year 1604, and afterwards by Masingham in 1624. Colgan's edition is much more ample, especially in the first book, on which account he prefers it to the former ones. But I fear that several parts of it are interpolations; and it is plain that, if not the whole, at least the chief part of what he calls the

first chapter (*Lib. 1.*) must be considered as such. For, besides the difference of style between it and the rest of the work the subjects mentioned in it are not in general of that kind, of which Adamnan professes to treat in the first book. Said chapter is not in Pinkerton's edition, which he has given us from a manuscript of the British Museum in the *Vitae antiquae sanctorum*, &c. This edition is in substance scarcely different from Colgan's, except in the two or three first chapters, which were wanting in that *MS.* It is very neat and well arranged, and might be the fittest to refer to in our account of the saint, were it not that, through a strange whim, as if books were intended only for the great, who perhaps never read them, so few copies of Pinkerton's valuable collection have been struck off, that, scarce as the *Trias Thaumaturga* is, this is still more scarce and less accessible so the generality of readers, although published so late as the year 1789. Accordingly whatever references may be necessary I shall make to Colgan's edition, adding if requisite, some occasionally to the other ones. I pass over some other editions, such as that of the Bollandists, as these now mentioned will suffice for our purpose. Adamnan's work was not intended as a regular history or biography of St. Columba, and consequently bears scarcely any marks of chronological arrangement. The first book is entitled, *De Propheticiis revelationibus*; the second, *De virtutum miraculis*; and the third or last, *De Angelicis visionibus*.

The fifth Life, published by Colgan, consists of Extracts, translated into Latin, from a very large history of the saint, in three books, written in Irish by Magnus or Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and completed by him in the year 1520. Colgan tells us, that he has omitted many parts of it, which he thought fabulous or foolish. He might indeed have overlooked also many other parts, which he has taken the trouble of giving to the reader. Yet, on the whole, it is a useful work, particularly on account of the attention paid by the author to chronological order.

A Life of St. Columba by a Dr. Smith, one of the ministers of Campbelton, came out in Edinburgh in the year 1798. The author has chiefly followed Cumineus, Adamnan, and Colgan's appendixes. As a history this tract is meagre enough, and often very incorrect in mere matters of fact.

(71) Adamnan in his second preface to *Vit. S. Col.* says that

St. Mauctaneus, as Colgan's edition has, or Moctheus (See *Chap. vi. §. 12.* and *ib. Not. 123.*) pronounced a prophecy concerning St. Columba in these words; "In novissimis seculi temporibus filius nasciturus est, cujus nomen, *Columba*, per omnes insularum Oceani provincias divulgabitur notum, novissimaque orbis tempora clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepiculae intervallo disternabuntur: homo valde Deo charus, et grandis coram ipso meriti." Upon a part of this prophecy, in which it is said that two small monasteries, one of Moctheus, and the other of Columba, would be separated by only a small hedge, is founded, I believe, a story in O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 3.*) that Moctheus had lived in the island of Hy. But the two monasteries, alluded to by Moctheus, were no other than two in Ireland; for there were several houses of Columba's order, one of which seems to have been near Louth, where was the monastery of Moctheus. O'Donnel himself says elsewhere (*L. 2. c. 11. 12.*) that Hy was occupied by Druids, until Columba drove them out of it. If so, Moctheus could not have had an establishment there. The second life adds (*cap. 1.*) a prophecy to the same purpose by St. Patrick himself, which is mentioned also in the Tripartite, (*L. 2. 113.*) and by Joceline (*cap. 89.*) But we may very safely doubt of its ever having been issued (See *Not. 8. to Chap. vi.*), and much more of the farrago of similar prophecies, which O'Donnel has raked together in the beginning of his compilation, and several of which are so nonsensical and evidently fabulous, that it is surprising how Colgan could have published such stuff.

(72) All accounts agree in calling St. Columba's father *Fedhlimid*, and likewise in making Fedhlimid a son of Fergus, whom some persons have erroneously confounded with Fergus son of Erc, and brother of Loarn, who founded the Scottish kingdom in Britain. The Fergus, grandfather of St. Columba, was son of Conal, one of the sons of Neill-Neigilliach, and from whom, as Usher justly observes (*p. 689.*), the country of Tirconnel (alias *Kinel-conuil*) has got its name. Joceline (*cap. 88*) calls Fergus a younger brother of Conal in opposition, as Colgan shows, to every other account; yet he led astray Messingham, who in a note to his edition of Joceline (at *cap. 138*) speaks of him in like manner, and even confounds him with Fergus son of Erc. The Conal father of Fergus and ancestor of St. Columba is, in some genealo-

gies of the saint, surnamed *Gulbanus*. (O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 1.* and *Tr. Th. p. 447-477.*) For two Conals are spoken of in Irish history, both sons of Neill Neigilliach, viz. Conal Gulbanus, and Conal Crinthanus. Colgan frequently distinguishes them, (See his fourth Index to *Tr. Th.*) and quotes (*ib. p. 544.*) the following passages from the Annals of the 4 Masters; "A. D. 464 (465) Conal Gulbanus, son of king Neill, from whom Kinel-conall, was killed, &c." "A. D. 476 (476). Died Conal Crinthanus, from whom the Clanna Colmain," &c. The principality of the former was Tir-connel, while, he adds, that of the latter comprized great tracts in Meath and Brehg. (See *Not. 14 to Chap. v.*) Following this statement, it appears that the prince Conal, who received St. Patrick to kindly at or near Taiten, and who was baptized by him (*Chap. v. §. 6.*) was Conal Crinthanus; and that Conal the father of Fergus was the surnamed Gulbanus, whereas Tirconnel was his territory, and the place of his residence. (See *Chap. vi. §. 2.* This then is the Conal, to whom St. Patrick is said to have, when in Tirconnel, foretold the birth and sanctity of his descendant St. Columba. (See *Not. prec.*) Having been obliged to touch on these genealogical subjects, I may be allowed to add, that the relationship to the saint, claimed by the O'Donnel family, is founded on their being derived from Dalach, who was a descendant of Sedna, paternal uncle of Columba. (O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 177.*) On this account, as Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th. p. 451*) that great family was often called *Síol-Ndalaich*, or the race of Dalach.

(73) Adamnan has; "Matrem Aethneam nomine, cujus pater Latine *filius natus dici potest*, Scotica vero lingua *Macanava*." (See the second preface, or in the other editions *cap. 1.*) This was only a surname; for his real name was Dinná. (*Tr. Th. p. 477.*) Smith (*Life, &c. p. 5.*) makes Aethnea, or, as he calls her, Aithne, mother not of the saint but of his father Felim, and says that she was daughter of Loarn the first king of the Scotch in Argyleshire. This is a strange mistake and in direct opposition to the express words of Adamnan and to every authority. He confounded Aithne with Erca, or Earca, daughter of Loarn, whom O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 1*) after mentioning Aithne as the mother of St. Columba, introduces as mother of Felim, and consequently grandmother of the saint. And it is thus we find in what manner St. Columba was related to the Dalriada

dynasty, which formed that kingdom in North Britain. (See also O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vindic. ch.* 10.) We may here add that Felim or Fedhlimid was half-brother to Murchertach Mac-erca monarch of Ireland, (See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*) as they were sons of Erc, who, after the death of prince Muredach, married Fergus. By Muredach, who was grandson of Niell Neigilliach by his son Eugenius, she had Murchertach, Feradach, Tigernach, and Moen. Afterwards she had by Fergus (of whom *Not. prec.*) four other sons Sedna, Fedhlimid, Loarn, and Brendan. (See Colgan *AA. SS. p.* 782. and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, p.* 471.) Thus then the saint was maternal nephew of king Murchertach.

(74) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c.* 60. compared with *cap. 1.* where he says that she was descended from Caithir king of Ireland. See *Tr. Th. p.* 477, where her entire genealogy is traced. Had Usher seen it, he would not have thrown out a conjecture (*Ind. Chron. A. 522.*) that she was grand-daughter of Nan the father of Gildas.

(75) Cumineus, or first Life, *cap. 1.* Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 1.*

(76) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 57.*) says that the year was 520. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 486.) would fain draw it back to 519, founding this date on two suppositions; 1st, that St. Columba died in 596, and 2d, that he was then in his 77th year. Of these we shall see hereafter. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns the saint's birth to 522. But the grounds, upon which he proceeded, and which are the fittest to build upon, lead us rather to the year 521. Adamnan writes (second Preface, or, according to other editions, *L. 1. c. 1.*), that St. Columba left Ireland the second year after the battle of Cuil-dremne (near Sligo), and that he was then in the 42d year of his age. The battle was fought, as Usher (*p.* 694) shews from the Annals of Ulster, in the year 561. On this point Colgan agrees with him. (*Tr. Th. p.* 486 and *Ind. Chron.*) Thence Usher, with whom O'Flaherty agrees (*Ogyg. p.* 479), concluded that the year of the saint's departure was 563, as marked also in said Annals. Colgan here hesitated and thought it might have been 562. But surely it is natural to suppose that Adamnan would not have called the year 562, or any part of it, the second after 561. Laying down 563, as that of St. Columba's departure, and combining it with the time of the year, in which he was born, it will be easily seen that his birth must be placed in

521. For, as stated in the Calendars quoted by Colgan (*p.* 483.), he was born on a seventh of December. If Columba had been born in an early part of the year, he might have been said to be in his 42d year in 563, although born in 522. But, as his birth happened so late as the 7th of December, who could speak in that manner of his age, if said 7th of December was in 522? To assert with any sort of propriety that he was in his 42d year in 563, it should in Usher's hypothesis, be supposed, that he did not set out for Britain until after the 7th of December in said year. It will hardly be believed, that the saint and his companions deferred their departure until the depth of winter. On the contrary O'Donnel tells us (*L. 2. c. 11.*) that they arrived straight from Ireland in Hy on the eve of Whitsuntide. (See more below *Not.* 223. to *Chap.* XII.) It is very odd that Colgan, knowing that Columba was born in December, could have imagined that 519 was the year of his birth. Admitting even that he left Ireland in 463, he should, on comparing these dates, have been then in his 43d year. But Colgan was a very incorrect calculator in chronological matters. As a proof of 521 being the true year of the saint's birth I may refer to the *Martyrol. Dungall.* (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 486.) which assigns it to A. 520. Now, as often observed with regard to many of our old documents, this was the same as our 521. And it is more than probable, that O'Donnel took his above mentioned 520 from that martyrology. It is worth observing, that this date agrees exactly with Nennius' computation of the times of St. Patrick, Brigid, and Columb-kille. (See *Not.* 12 to *Chap.* VII.) Before dismissing this subject, I must remark that there is some mistake in Johnston's Extracts from the Annals of Ulster (*ap. Antiq. Celto, &c.*) where he marks, as from them, Columba's birth at A. 518. (519). Usher, who had a copy of said Annals and made great use of them, knew nothing about such date occurring in them. Nor did Ware or any other author I know of, that had access to those Annals.

(77) O'Donnel *L. 1. c. 22.* Gartan is in the barony of Kilma-crenan in Donegall.

(78) *Ib. cap. 25.* That place is also in Kilmácrenan and is now called Tully or Tullyaugnish. (See Archdall at *Tully.*) O'Donnel calls Cruthnechan son of Ceallachan. Colgan thought he was the same as one Caritanus, whose name he found marked in the

Calendars, at 7th March, and accordingly has treated of him at said day. The names, however, are not so like each other as to make us, without further proof, believe that they belonged to only one person. What Colgan has concerning Cruthnechan is taken from O'Donnel, who raked together a heap of uncertain traditional anecdotes. He is mentioned in Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 2.*) not as the priest who baptized St. Columba, but as the one, to whose care he was entrusted when a small boy. Neither in Messingham's edition nor in the first life does his name occur, although a priest is spoken of, in general, as having had the care of the saint. If Cruthnechan had been expressly named by Adamnan, it can scarcely be supposed that the transcribers would have omitted him, and it is more than probable that his appearing in Colgan's edition is owing to an interpolation. Yet we have no authority for denying, that said priest was called by that name.

(79) *Martyrol. Dungall. ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.* O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 30.* Adamnan seems not to have known, that he had ever borne any other name than *Columba*. In the second preface he attributes his having been called so to the interposition of divine providence, as it was fit that a person of his sanctity should bear the name of that bird, under whose form the Holy Ghost had appeared. He says also that he had got, as if by chance, the same name as the prophet Jona; "*cum Jona propheta homonymon sortitus nomen;*" whereas the Hebrew word *Jona* signifies a dove. Such observations as these sufficiently indicate that, according to Adamnan, the saint had been originally called *Columba*, a name rather common in those days among the Irish Christians, and which we frequently meet with written either *Columba* or *Columbanus*, and sometimes *Columbus*. In the prophecies concerning the saint (See *Not. 71.*) no other name appears than *Columba*.

(80) That this was the real cause of the compound name *Columbkille* is evident from Bede, who writes (*Eccl. Hist. &c. L. 5. c. 10.*); "*Qui videlicet Columba nunc a nonnullis, composito a cella et Columba nomine, Colum-celli vocatur.*" Notkerus Balbulus, speaking of him in his Martyrology, says; "*cognomento apud suos Columbkilli; eo quod multarum cellarum, id est, monasteriorum vel ecclesiarum institutor, fundator, et rector extiterit.*" (See more *Tr. Th. p. 483* and *Usher, p. 687.*) It is probable, that the saint began to be so called not much earlier than Bede's

time, to which he alludes by *nunc a nonnullis*. Cumineus Albus and Adamnan, who were prior to Bede, never give him the name of *Columb-kille*. The story (*Tr. Th. p. 483.*) of *Kille* having been added in consequence of the saint having been educated in the church of *Kille-mac-nenain* is scarcely worth notice, and is rejected even by O'Donnel, who says (*L. 1. c. 30.*) that the true cause of this surname was the saint's having founded many monasteries and churches. Keating has a still more foolish story concerning the whole name of *Columb-kille* having been first given to him, when he was studying under Finnian of Maghbile. (See *Not. 81. to Chap. x.*) Henceforth I shall call him simply *Columba*, except where, to avoid confusion, it may be necessary to add the surname.

(81) In Colgan's edition of Adamnan the priest is called Cruthnechan (See *Not. 78.*), the person who, according to O'Donnel, had baptized St. Columba.

(82) *Martyrol. Dungall. ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.* O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 30. seqq.* Kilmacnenain must have been the place now called Kilmacrenan, which gives name to the barony, in Donegal.

(83) Cumineus, *cap. 2.* Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 2.*

(84) Adamnan writes (*Second Preface, alias L. 1. c. 1.*); "Qui etiam a puero, deditus Christiano tyrocinio et sapientiae studiis, integritatem corporis et animae puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens quamvis in terra positus, caelestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat."

(85) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 32.* This bishop Brugacius must not be confounded with the Brugacius mentioned in *Not. 256 to Chap. x.* Rath-enaigh was, according to Archdall (at *Ratheanich*) in Inishowen. Where he got this information I cannot discover. O'Donnel says it was in Tireнна, by which name I do not find that Inishowen was ever called. Colgan merely tells us *AA. SS. p. 510.* that Tireнна was a district near the residence of Cruthnechan, who had Columba under his care. I wish he had been more precise. He mentions (*Tr. Th. p. 373*) a place called *Ea-nach*, three miles to the North of Derry, in the O'Cahan's country. Might it have been the same as Rath-enaigh, or the fort Enaigh? The memory of Brugacius was revered on the 3d of November. (*AA. SS. p. 511.*)

§. VIII. Having spent the years of his boyhood

under that clergyman, and being qualified for the higher sort of studies, he was sent to the school of St. Finnian of Maghbile, in the now county of Down, which was then very celebrated and much resorted to. (86) At this school Columba applied himself sedulously not only to the acquirement of learning but to the imitation of the virtues of his holy teacher. He remained there for several years, and had become a deacon before he left it. (87) While he was officiating as such, it happened on the occasion of some great festival that the wine for the mystery of the holy sacrifice could not be found; upon which Columba went to the fountain for the purpose of procuring, as deacon, water for the divine service. Having put some into a vessel he blessed it, invoking the name of Jesus Christ, who had changed water into wine at Cana in Galilee. His prayer was heard, and a similar miracle took place as to that which his vessel contained. Returning to the church he said to the clergy; "Here is wine for you, which the Lord Jesus has sent for the celebration of his mysteries." They and the bishop St. Finnian returned thanks to God for this extraordinary favour, which Columba ascribed not to any merit of his own but to that of the bishop. (88) Leaving Finnian's school and monastery he went to Leinster, and placed himself under a venerable old man called Germanus, a teacher of great reputation. (89) It is related that, being with him reading in a field, a girl, who was pursued by an assassin, fled towards them for protection, which, however, the monster not paying any attention to killed at their feet. Columba announced that God would punish him by a sudden death; and accordingly very soon after he dropped dead. (90) How long he remained with Germanus, cannot be ascertained; but it is probable that his stay with him was short, if it be true, as indeed is not unlikely, that for some time after he attended the lectures of Finnian of Clonard. (91) As to other schools, to which

some writers have sent him, we may pass them by, (92) and now follow the saint in his return to his own country Tirconnel. He could not have been long there when he set about founding a monastery; for its foundation is assigned to the year 546, (93) at which time he was in the 25th year of his age. This monastery he erected on a pleasant eminence covered with oaks, called *Doire-Calgaich*, (94) near Loughfoyle to the west, and whence is derived the name of the town or city of Derry, now Londonderry, which owes its origin to that establishment. The site for building it and some adjoining land were granted to him by his relatives the princes of the country. (95) Having established his institution on a firm footing, and, according to some accounts, erected one or two churches in the neighbourhood, he determined on visiting other parts of Ireland for the purpose of contributing to the advancement of religion and piety. Consigning the care of his establishment to one of the elder monks he proceeded to the southern parts of the ancient Meath, and, having got a spot of land from a chieftain named Bredan, erected a monastery at Dair-magh, (96) now Durrough in the King's county. The precise year of this foundation is not known; but it was probably about A. D. 550 or not long after. (97) This monastery was not less famous than that of Derry, and was, at least for a considerable time, better known to foreigners. (98)

(86) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 39.* (See *Chap. x. §. 6.* and *ib. Not. 81.*) Smith, (*Life, &c. p. 7.*) instead of Finnian of Maghbiele, whom he seems to have known nothing about, has Finnian of Clonard as Columba's first master in the highest class of studies.

(87) "Ipee quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans." Adarnan, *L. 2. c. 1.* who observes that the saint was then young "*adhuc juvenis.*" If the discipline of most ancient churches, which required the age of, at least 25 years for a deacon, was observed in Ireland, it will follow that Columba was still with Finnian in the year 547, whereas he was not 25 years

old until the latter end of 546. How can this agree with what the Annals of Ulster have concerning his having founded the monastery of Derry in 546? Either they are wrong, or Columba must have been ordained deacon before the age of twenty-five. And, indeed, there is some reason to think that he was. The *adhuc juvenis* of Adamnan might seem to point to the age of 22 rather than to that of, at least, full 25. Yet I find Adamnan elsewhere calling Columba a *juvenis*, when he was certainly much more than 25 years old. Passing over this doubtful argument, we may observe that the function of deacon comprized at that time in Ireland the duties of an acolythe; for Adamnan states (*ib.*), that Columba went, in his capacity of deacon, to fetch water for the use of the altar. Now, wherever acolythes were established, this was a part of their office. Nor was it, I dare say, until after the acolythate and other minor orders were regularly settled, that the age required for deaconship was fixed at 25 years, and for this reason, that this order or degree was thenceforth charged with only such duties as persons under that age were supposed to be unfit for. St. Epiphanius of Pavia was ordained deacon about A. D. 458, at the age of 20 years. (*Tillemont, Tom. xvi. p. 481.*) Yet, concerning other circumstances, we cannot admit, that Columba was less than about 22 when officiating as deacon in Finnian's monastery; and in this supposition he must have been there as late as the year 544.

(88) Cumineus, *cap. 4.* Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 1.* (compare with *Not. prec.*)

(89) O'Donnel, *L. 1. c. 40.* In Colgan's edition of Adamnan (*L. 2. c. 25.*) and also in Pinkerton's, he is called *Gemmanus*; but in Messingham's (*L. 3. c. 4.*) the name is *Germanus*. Colgan thinks he was the same as an abbot Gorman of Kill-gorman in West Leinster; but in what part of it he does not inform us. He thought also that he was very probably no other than a bishop Mogornan one of the pretended nephews of St. Patrick. Archdall applies these vague conjectures to Kilgorman in the county of Wicklow, and without further explanation calls the supposed bishop in that place not *Mogornan* but *Mogorman*. But Archdall's Kilgorman, far from being in West Leinster, is in East Leinster; nor is Colgan's *West* in this case an error of the press; for he quotes it twice from old authors and Calendars in *p. 230.* and ..

383. of *Tr. Th.* There were persons enough of the name of Gorman, from whom churches both in East and West Leinster might have been called *Kilgorman*, without twisting the name of either Germanus, or Mogornanus. A Germanus is mentioned in the life of St. Finnian of Clonard; but he is spoken of only as a poet. A religious foreigner of the name of *Germanus* appears in the first life of Kieran of Saigir (*cap. 32*); and it is very probable, that he was the person, to whom Columba, having left Maghbile, applied for further instruction. His being a foreigner was a strong inducement to do so, were there no other motive than that Columba wished to improve himself in a correct knowledge of the learned languages. *Gemmanus* is in all likelihood a mistake for *Germanus*.

(90) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 25*. Messingham's *ed. L. 3. c. 4*.

(91) O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 41*.) sends Columba from the school of Germanus to Clonard. Adamnan gives us no hint to that purpose, and mentions only one Finnian, viz. of Maghbile. Yet, as his work is not a regular history, his silence cannot be considered as a decisive argument on this point. Columba is expressly reckoned among the chief disciples of Finnian of Clonard in said Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19*. and in other documents, such as the Life of Kieran of Clonmacnois, and that of Columba of Tirdaglass. (See *Tr. Th. p. 457*.) If our saint was really at that school, he could not have been very young at the time; for he was already a deacon before he left Maghbile, and is spoken of as such when he was with Germanus.

(92) O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 43*.) pretends that Columba went from Clonard to the monastery or school of Mobhy Clairineach. This cannot be reconciled with the date of Mobhy's death, which is assigned to A. D. 545. (See *Not. 240. to Chap. x*.) St. Columba was, in all appearance, still at Maghbile in 544 (above *Not. 87.*); and, as he was next afterwards with Germanus, how can time be found for his being at the school of Mobhy, particularly if, as O'Donnel himself states, he spent some time previous at Clonard? This is, I suspect, as unfounded a story as that of Congall and Kieran having been scholars of Mobhy. (See *Not. 243. to Chap. x*.) It is probable, that Columba might have become acquainted with him a little before his death at the time that he was studying in Leinster under Germanus. Smith (*Life*

&c. p. 8.) has a fable concerning Columba having been also under Kieran of Clon, that is, Clonmacnois. Where he got it, I cannot tell. O'Donnel, at most, makes Kieran a fellow student of Columba in Mobhy's monastery. All that I find recorded as to Columba having ever been at Clonmacnois is what Adamnan relates (*L. 1. c. 3.*) concerning his having visited it on occasion of his having come to Ireland from Hy many years after the death of Kieran, as will be seen elsewhere. Yet there can be no doubt that Columba and Kieran were personally acquainted. (See *Not. 187. to Chap. x.*) Smith adds some nonsense concerning Kieran having preached in Kintyre, and died in 594; for which he refers to Ware, without pointing out where he said so; as indeed could not be done, whereas Ware never mentioned such things. How little Smith had examined these subjects appears from his supposing (*p. 10.*) that Columba, when in his 28th year, founded the monastery of Darmagh about the time of Kieran's death. Now the 28th year of Columba's age was A. D. 549, which was also that in which Kieran died. Why then give us that trash about his having died in 594? Yet, to do every man justice, this 594 is, perhaps, an erratum for 549. But the fable of Kieran having preached in Kintyre is not so. It is taken from such stories as those of Dempster and others concerning that great saint. (See *Not. 32. and 187. to Chap. x.*) The mistakes of some writers, who have made Columba a disciple of Comgall at Bangor, needs no refutation.

(93) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) from the Annals of Ulster. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 502.*) place it in 535 (536). This date is evidently wrong, and is rejected by Colgan. (*ib. and p. 450.*) Are we to suppose that Columba could have founded a monastery before he was 15 years old? The 4 Masters, however, were not guilty of this absurdity, whereas they thought that Columba was born in 516 (517); and thus, according to their calculations, he would have founded it before he was full 19 years of age, counting from the 7th of December, the day of his birth. Surely it cannot be admitted that so young a person would have been recognized as abbot or superior of a religious community. Their date (517) and indeed all their dates relative to the saint's transactions are in direct opposition to Adamnan and the best authorities, so that Colgan was obliged to set them aside. But al-

though he differed from them as to the time in which the monastery was founded, he was uncertain (*ib. p. 503.*) to what year it ought to be assigned, notwithstanding his having given, without animadversion, Usher's date (546) in the *AA. SS. p. 191.* a work printed indeed before the *Tr. Th.* O'Flaherty, in a marginal note to *Tr. Th. p. 502.* agrees with Usher. O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 48.*) makes Columba set about erecting the monastery soon after he had got an account, by messengers expressly sent to him, of the death of Mobhy Clairineach. This circumstance confirms the date 546, whereas Mobhy died in October A. D. 545. (See *Not. 240. to Chap. x*) At this same time it overthrows what O'Donnel has about Columba having been ordained priest, and nearly bishop, before he founded the monastery. According to the discipline of those times he was too young in 546 to be ordained either bishop or priest; and hence it appears that, if that was the year of the foundation, the saint was still only a deacon when it took place, and for, at least, five years later.

(94) Adamnan has latinized the name into *Roboretum Calgachi*. At to the precise situation of the monastery Mr. Sampson says (*Stat. Survey of Co. Londonderry, p. 472*) "Probably the Catholic chapel, and thence to the Bishop's garden, is the site of the famous convent."

(95) The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 450.*) have; "Ecclesia de Doire-Chalgaich fundatur per S. Columbam-kille, locum offerentibus proceribus de Kinel-Connuill suis cognatis." This is more correct than O'Donnel's statement, who says (*L. 1. c. 48.*) that said place was given to the saint by prince Aidus son to king Anniraeus, and who afterwards became king of Ireland himself. Aidus was perhaps not born in the year 546. His father Anniraeus, who did not ascend the throne until A. D. 566, (Usher, *p. 947.*) or, according to O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. part 8. cap. 93.*) 568, was first cousin to St. Columba, being the son of Sedna the saint's paternal uncle. (O'Flaherty *ib.* and *Tr. Th. p. 448.*) It is difficult to believe, that Aidus could have been in possession of a principality as far back as 546, when his father's cousin Columba was not as yet 25 years of age. Accordingly the 4 Masters were right in not attributing to him the grant made to the saint. It was this story of O'Donnel that, it appears, induced Colgan to doubt of the time, in which the monastery was founded,

(See *Not.* 93.) as he could not but perceive, that the time of Aidus' being placed at the head of a territory must have been later than 546. Hence to reconcile matters, having swallowed O'Donnel's position, he was inclined to think, that the monastery was not founded so early as is generally supposed. Archdall, among many blunders concerning St. Columba, says (at *Derry*) that Doire-Chalgaich had been granted to him in 535, but that the foundation of the monastery could not have been prior to 546. He had read in *Tr. Th.* that the 4 Masters assigned that grant to A. D. 535, a wrong date, as we have seen (*Not.* 93.). Yet he should have reflected, that they join the donation of the land with the foundation of the monastery, affixing them both to the same year. Had he done so, he would not have given this trash to the public.

(96) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 3.* The name signifies the *oak grove of the plain*, or the *plain of the oaks*. Adamnan calls it (*ib. c. 29.*) in Latin *Roboretum campi*, while Bede (*Histor. &c. L. 3. c. 4.*) interprets it *Campus roborum*. Adamnan observes, that it was in *mediteranea Iberniae parte*, and so it really was. For it is the place now called Durrogh or Durrow (not to be confounded with Durrow in the Co. Kilkenny) in the barony of Ballycowen (part of the ancient Fearcall and South Meath) in the King's county. As to the chieftain Brendan, see *Tr. Th. p. 507*, where his death is marked at A. D. 585.

(97) Ware (*Antiq. cap. 26.*) and Harris (*Monast.*) say about 550. Archdall (at *Durrow*) has 546, forgetting that this was the year of the foundation of the house of Derry, and that some time must have intervened between it and that of Dair-magh or Durrow. From him, I suppose, the mighty Ledwich (*Antiq. p. 56.*) took the same date for Durrow, without making any mention of Derry, yet introducing some nonsense about Columba's pretended Cul-dees. Smith in like manner passes over (*Life, &c.*) Derry, and tells us that the saint founded the monastery of Dearmagh in the 28th year of his age, that is A. D. 549; connecting this hypothesis with making him a scholar of Kieran of Clonmacnois. (See *Not.* 92.) O'Flaherty in various marginal notes to *Tr. Th. p. 339. 373. 507*) endeavours to prove, that Dairmagh was not founded until about the year 590 after the meeting at Drumceat. His only argument worth notice is that Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 3.*)

having observed that Columba was founding said monastery, tells us, that he visited Clonmacnois, of which Alitherus was then abbot. Now Alitherus was not abbot there until about 590, as appears from the 4 Masters and Colgan. (*Tr. Th. p. 373.*) The manner, in which Adamnan speaks of Dairmagh might seem to indicate, that he supposed its foundation to have been not long prior to Columba's visit to Clonmacnois. He writes; "Monasterium, quod Scotice dicitur *Dairmagh*, divino *fundans* nutu per aliquot demoratur menses. Libuit animo visitare fratres, qui in Clonensi sancti Cerani coenobio commanebant." Instead of *fundans* Usher (p. 690.) has *fundavit*. But it is plain that *fundans* is the true reading; whereas otherwise the passage, the whole of which Usher has not quoted, would be quite ungrammatical, besides its occurring in all the editions, at least in those, that I have met with. The difficulty, however, is easily got over by explaining *fundans* not by what we call *founding* or newly forming, but in its very classical meaning of regulating and giving stability, as *ex. c.* in the phrase, *legibus urbem fundare*. A few lines before that passage, Adamnan, alluding to what might be now expressed by *founding a monastery*, uses the verb *construere*. That he did not mean the house of Dairmagh was first originally formed at the time he was speaking of, must be allowed, unless we are to reject every other authority relative to said establishment. O'Donnel not only places the foundation of it before St. Columba went to Hy, but tells us (*L. 3. c. 13.*) that Lasrenus was abbot there at the time of the assembly of Drumceat, adding that the saint went afterwards to make a visitation of it. This visitation is, I believe, what Adamnan meant by *fundans*. The 4 Masters mentioning the death of the prince Brendan in 585 (586) subjoin, that he was the person, who had, *long before*, made an offering of Dairmagh to God and St. Columba. Next comes Bede, who expressly states that Columba had erected this monastery before his arrival in Britain. These are his words; (*Hist. &c. L. 3. c. 4.*) "Fecerat autem prius quam Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hybernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, campus roborum cognominatur." O'Flaherty strove to evade the force of his argument by saying, that Bede mistook the name, and that the monastery of Derry was that which he meant. But it is clear that in this passage he followed

Adamnan, who undoubtedly understood by *Dearmach* or *Dair-magh* not Derry but Durrough. As to O'Flaherty's remark that Bede alluded to Columba's chief monastery in Ireland, which was not Dairmagh but Derry, I answer, that Bede seems to have known very little about Derry; whereas Adamnan, his guide, although he makes mention of it by the name of *Roboretum Calgachi*, yet does not any where introduce Columba as having resided there, while, on the contrary, not only in the above quoted passage, but likewise in *L. 2. c. 2.* he speaks of him as having been at Dairmagh or *Robur campi*. To conclude this subject, neither Usher, Ware, nor Colgan, although they had Adamnan's text before them, doubted of Dairmagh having been founded prior to Columba's settling in Hy.

(98)] Bede (*L. 3. c. 4.*) joins it with the monastery of Hy, as the two principal establishments of Columba. Some English writers have confounded Dairmagh with Armagh. (See Usher, p. 690.) Their mistake is more pardonable than that of Lucas Holstenius, who (*Proem. ad Cod. Regularum*) says, "that S. Columbanus (Columb-kill) *Armacanum et Tyrhense monasteria fundavit A. 565.*" By *Tyrhense* he meant or guessed at the monastery of Derry. It is strange that a man of his reputation, and who wrote after Usher, Colgan and others had cleared up these matters, could have thrown out in that passage almost as many blunders as there are words.

§. IX. It was probably not long after the foundation of Dairmagh, and while Columba was still in South Meath, that he was raised to the priesthood. It is related that, being judged worthy of the episcopacy, he was sent, with the approbation of several prelates, to St. Etchen for the purpose of being consecrated by him. Etchen resided at Clain-bile, or, as otherwise called, Cluain-foda in the district of Fera-bile a southern part of Meath. (99) He was of an illustrious family of Leinster, (100) and is said to have been obtained by his parents from the Almighty through the blessing of St. Brigid, but at what time I do not find recorded. (101) Nor is there any authentic account of Etchen's proceedings

until we meet with him as bishop in that place, and as the ordainer of St. Columba. (102) Being arrived near Etchen's church, the saint inquired for the bishop, and was told ; " there he is below ploughing in a field." He then went up to him, and was welcomed with the greatest kindness by the holy prelate, who, on being apprized of the reason of his visit, did not hesitate to ordain him soon after. Yet, if we are to believe some authors, (103) a singular circumstance occurred in this business. They tell us that, through a sort of mistake, Etchen ordained him not bishop, as was the general wish of the clergy and people, but priest ; and that, after having spent the following night together in prayer, Etchen, on discovering his mistake, offered to consecrate him bishop, which proposal Columba declined, attributing what had happened to a dispensation of Providence, and declaring that he would remain during the rest of his life in the order, to which he had been admitted. In our times such a mistake could scarcely occur in any part of the Church ; and it is difficult to believe, that it could have happened even in Columba's days, although the ritual was then more simple than it is at present. (104) Be this as it may, it is certain that Columba never rose higher in the Church than the rank of priest. His ordination could not have been earlier than the latter end of A. D. 551, when he had just completed his thirtieth year. (105) Having spent some time at Dairmagh, it is said that he went thence to Kennanus, (106) now Kells in E. Meath, then a city and royal residence, and there founded a monastery. If it be true that he did so, concerning which there is some reason to doubt, (107) its foundation must have been later than the year 550, to which it has been assigned by some writers. (108)

(99) It is called at present Clonesfad or Clonfad, and is the barony of Farbill in Westmeath. The situation of this place affords

an additional argument against O'Donnel's statement, viz. that Columba was ordained priest before he founded the monastery of Derry. According to him the saint was in his own country, when it was thought advisable to direct him to St. Etchen for ordination. Why send him all the way from Tirconnel to the South of Meath? Surely there were bishops enough in the adjacent parts of Ulster, who might have ordained him. No other reason appears for applying to Etchen for that purpose than that he lived not far from Columba's then residence; and, in fact, the distance between Clonfad and Durrogh is not great. We may therefore justly infer, that Columba's ordination by Etchen did not take place until, at the earliest, the time of his founding Dairmagh, which, as O'Donnel himself lays down, was later than that of Derry.

(100) Colgan has Etchen's at 11th February. His father was Manius Eccneas, and his mother Briga, both descended in collateral lines from Niathcorb, or Messincorb, the ancestor of all the kings of Leinster.

(101) Colgan thought that Etchen might have been born about A. D. 490, founding this date upon a supposition, that he became bishop before the death of St. Brigid, for which there is no authority worth attention. He quotes a long passage from the Life of St. Brigid by Laurence of Durham, in which a bishop Echeus is mentioned as contemporary with her and St. Mel of Ardagh. But in the first place the names Echeus and Etchen are different; and next, if there was such a bishop as that Echeus; how could Colgan have imagined that he was the same as Etchen? Could Etchen have been a bishop in the times of Mel, who died in 488? By another strange anachronism Colgan elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 632.*) supposes Etchen to have been bishop at Clonfad in St. Patrick's days. For he makes him the same as a bishop Ethian, who is said to have been reprimanded by St. Patrick. (See Usher, *p. 1049.*) The account of that reprimand looks very like a made up story, and perhaps the contrivers of it, caring little about correctness of dates, meant Etchen by the name of Ethian. (See *Not. 211. to Chap. VIII.*) But Colgan ought not to have swallowed or authorized such a monstrous anachronism.

(102) There is abundance of authorities to prove these two points. The Calendar of Cashel has at 11th February, "*S. episcopus Etchenus, qui ordinem presbyteratus dedit S. Columbae*

Kille." Colgan quotes also Mariam Gorman, the martyrology of Donegall, &c. &c. All accounts agree that his see was at Cluain-bile, *alias* Cluain-foda. I do not find any mention of a monastery of his. Colgan has (at 11. *Mart.*) a Librenus abbot of Cluain-foda, who he thought, lived in the beginning of the 7th century; but, as there was a place of that name different from that of Méath, he does not decide to which of them he belonged. Harris was not so scrupulous, and places Librenus at Cluainfoda in Meath, adding a mistake of his own in assigning it not to Westmeath, as he should have done (See *Not.* 99) but to East Meath. I may here add that, according to the martyrology of Donegall and the 4 Masters, St. Etchen died A. D. 577 (578), Feb. 11.

(103) Aengus or his Scholiast, &c. in Etchen's Acta. O'Donnel, *L. 1. c.* 47.

(104) In this anecdote it is presupposed, 1st. that it was intended to consecrate Columba *per saltum*, that is, to raise him immediately from the rank of deacon to the episcopacy, without his passing through the priesthood. There are certainly many instances of the kind in ancient times, notwithstanding the contrary practice having been generally observed from a very early period, as appears from St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 52. *alias* 55. *ad Antonian.*) and confirmed by the councils of Sardica, Bracara, and others. 2dly. Although it was an universal and very ancient rule that several bishops, at least three as established by the great council of Nice, should be present at the consecration or ordination of a bishop, yet here we find an instance of a person, who was to be consecrated by one alone, and without any apparent necessity of such an urgent nature, as would at any time render it allowable. Whether the anecdote be true or not, it seems to indicate that it was not unusual in Ireland to have persons consecrated by one bishop. And yet it is certain that the Irish clergy were well acquainted with the decrees of the council of Nice and others on this subject. To explain this seeming paradox we must observe, that the order of *Chorepiscopi* was very general in Ireland. They were undoubtedly, at least very many of them, invested with episcopal powers, although being subordinate to the regular bishop, in whose diocese they were stationed, they were not allowed to exercise some parts of them without his permission. Now these *Chorepiscopi* used to be ordained or consecrated by the bishop,

properly so called, or ordinary of the diocese, without his being bound to apply for the assistance of other bishops. See the 10th canon of the council of Antioch, and Bingham, (*Orig. Eccl. Book 2. chap. xiv. §. 5.*) who adds, that the city-bishops (ordinaries) were accountable for the ordination of the country-bishops (*Chorepiscopi*) to a provincial synod. In the case of St. Columba it is very natural to suppose, that the intention was to make him simply a *chorepiscopus*, so as to entrust him with the care of the rural district adjoining Dairnagh, and accordingly it was not necessary to apply for his consecration to more bishops than one. As the Irish had but one name for bishops and *chorepiscopi*, it is often difficult to know whether persons mentioned in our Church history were ordinaries of dioceses or of that subordinate class. If we read of their having been consecrated by only one bishop, we may justly conclude that they were only *chorepiscopi*. Or, if we find them, as is often the case, moving from one country or province to another, a similar inference may be drawn; whereas the canons did not allow, except on some extraordinary occasions, ordinaries to quit the sees to which they had been originally appointed. There is a third point connected with this anecdote, or rather with the supposition that it might have taken place. It is more difficult of explanation than those already discussed; for, it will be asked, could the rites used in the ordination of a priest have been mistaken for those practised in the episcopal consecration? It is true, that in later times some ceremonies and prayers have been added in the performance of these acts, which mark more distinctly the difference between them; yet they were always clearly distinguishable by the respective rites and forms of prayer used in administering them, as may be seen in Habert's *Archicraticon* (p. 312. seqq.) Bingham's *Origines*, &c. (*B. 2. ch. xi. § 8-9.* compared with *ch. xix. § 17.*) and as still observed by the ancient Oriental sects. (See Renaudot, *Perpet. de la foy sur les Sacrements*, L. v. ch. 8. 10.) Neither Etchen nor Columba could have been mistaken as to the nature of the act during its celebration. Therefore whatever was the oversight or mistake alluded to in that narrative, it must have been of some other kind. Etchen might have acted designedly in conferring at first only the order of priesthood, through a wish not to violate the rule of not ordaining *per saltum*, but with the intention of afterwards giving him episcopal ordina-

tion. To this Columba submitted, and meanwhile formed his determination not to rise higher. In process of time persons, who thought he should have been made bishop, ascribed the whole to a mistake; or it may be supposed that, through a particular interference of Providence, Échoen forgot that Columba had been sent to him for the purpose of being raised to the episcopal order, and knowing that he was only a deacon thought it sufficient to confer on him merely that of priesthood. At any rate this anecdote, whether true or not, plainly shows that the distinction between bishops and priests was well-understood in Ireland.

(105) It is very probable, that Columba was ordained not long after the foundation of Dairmagh. Hence the date, *about 550*, assigned for it, seems to be nearly as correct as can be ascertained.

(106) Harris (*Bishops*, p. 138) explains the name as if signifying the *see of Cenanus*. This is an unfounded position of his own. Where did he find a Cenanus bishop there? The origin of the see of Kells and the name of its first bishop are unknown. Ware, treating of Kells (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) has nothing about *see of Cenanus*; but he observes, that the name of the place *Cenanus* (or *Kennanus*) was contracted into *Kenlis*, and afterwards into *Kells*. In fact, *Kennanus* was its original name, which it probably was known by before there was ever a bishop in Ireland.

(107) In the martyrology of Donegall (*Tr. Th. p. 483*) the monastery of Kennanus is reckoned among those, which Columba founded before he left Ireland. But it ascribes so many establishments to him, that we cannot depend on its authority as to any one of them, unless supported by other documents; and it is certain that several religious houses of Columba's order, said to have been founded by him, were not established until after his death. If a fact ought to be rejected on account of the absurdity of circumstances said to have accompanied it, that now under discussion must be set aside. O'Donnel states (*L. 1. c. 63.*) that, on the saint's approaching Kennanus, the guards refused him admittance; upon which he prophesied that it would soon pass into other hands. It is added, that Diernit, then king of Ireland, having arrived there soon after, made him a present of the whole city, as a compensation for the affront he had received, and that Columba accepted of it. Passing over some other stories, who does

not see, that this is a fable fabricated in times very much later than those, in which Columba lived? In his days kings did not bestow cities to holy men, nor would holy men have accepted of them. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 508.) gives us no other authority for that foundation by Columba than the trash of O'Donnel. O'Flaherty in a marginal note (*ib.*) asserts, that the church, called St. Columba's, at Kells, was not erected until A.D. 807, and that the founder of it was Kellach, abbot of Hy, who at that very time; as Ware writes (*Antiq. cap. 24.*) fled to Ireland from the fury of the Danes, who had plundered his monastery and murdered many of the monks. O'Flaherty appeals for his assertion to *Codex Cluanensis*, and to a *poema chronologicum*. He might have appealed also to the Annals of Inisfallen, which assign the foundation of Kells by Kellach to 807. He refers likewise to Ware, who says (*loc. cit.*), that Kellach in that year either built or repaired the monastery of St. Columba at Kells. Yet in other places (*ib. cap. 26. and 29*) Ware attributes the foundation of said monastery to Columba himself, in obedience, perhaps, to a popular tradition. If it was really founded by him, it is difficult to account for the silence of our old authors as to any abbot there between his times and those of Kellach. Archdall, indeed, mentions (at *Kells*) one or two as prior to Kellach, but, I believe, on very shallow authority. They must have been unknown to Colgan; for, otherwise, he would have named, at least, some one of them, as he has with regard to the abbots of Derry, Dairmagh, &c. It may be objected, that the 4 masters quoted by Colgan (*loc. cit.*) assign a destruction of St. Columba's church of Kells to A. D. 802 (803) and therefore prior to Kellach's arrival there. This is probably a mistake. It must certainly have appeared as such to O'Flaherty, who had the 4 Masters constantly before him, and who would not have assigned the origin of that church to 807; unless he thought their calculation to be wrong and not consent with documents, which he considered as more worthy of credit. As to any decision on this subject, let the reader judge for himself.

(108) Ware, Harris, &c. Their computation, which is at best merely conjectural, cannot agree with their own statement as to the time of the foundation of Dairmagh (See *Not. 97*); whereas some not very inconsiderable time must have elapsed between it and that of Kells. Besides, Columba was already a priest, when

he is said to have set about the latter monastery ; so that if he was the real founder, its commencement cannot be placed prior to A. D. 552.

§. x. Several other monasteries or churches are said to have been erected by St. Columba in those times ; but there can be no doubt that many of them were not established until after his death, while others prior to it were not of his immediate foundation. Thus the house of Swords was not established by him, nor before the year 563, but some time in the seventh century. (109) Another pretended establishment of our saint is that in the small island of Rachlin, off the Antrim coast, for which there is not the least authority ; (110) besides its being well known at what time and by whom it was founded. (111) It was, however, of the Columbian order, as was also that of Raphoe, which I do not find sufficient arguments for ascribing to Columba himself, although it existed in Adamnan's time, who was, perhaps, the founder of it. (112) Three or four religious houses or churches called *Skrine* or the *Shrine of St. Columba*, indicate by their very name that they were not formed in his time, and that it is a gross mistake to ascribe their foundation to him. (113) The monastery of Druim-cliaabh, or Drumcliffe, in the county of Sligo, will, I dare say, on close examination, be found not to have been established until after the saint's death. (114) Much less reason is there for ascribing to him several other religious houses or churches, some of which are now unknown, (115) while others were merely churches or chapels dedicated in his name, or in which he was specially revered. (116) Certain monasteries, which existed in Columba's time, have been added to his foundations on the mere grounds of their having been mentioned by Adamnan. (117) We find, however, besides Derry and Durrough, some religious houses, which were founded in Ireland either by

Columba himself, or by his disciples during his life time, or, at least, very soon after his death. Among them is to be reckoned that of *Druim-Tomma* (*Drumhome*) in the barony of Tyrhugh and county of Donegal. (118) A small monastery in a place, called *Sath-reginden*, was inhabited and seemingly founded by a Baitan, who lived in Columba's time, and became one of his monks. (119) A great establishment called Kill-mor-Deathrib, is usually ascribed to St. Columba, and probably on just grounds; (120) but unluckily its situation is wrapped up in obscurity. (121) *Snamlathir*, a monastery in the now barony of Carbury (county of Sligo) was founded, perhaps before his death, by Columbanus, son of Echad, who was probably a disciple of his. (122) Adamnan makes mention of a monastery, called *Kailli-abinde*, and founded, after Columba's departure from Ireland and perhaps after his death, by a Finten, son of Aidus, one of his disciples. But it is probable, that this monastery was somewhere in Scotland or its Western isles rather than in Ireland. (123) To conclude this subject, I have only to add, that a monastery at *Eac-mac-neirc* in the now county of Roscommon, although not mentioned by Adamnan, is usually ascribed by several authors to St. Columba, who is said to have placed over it the abbot *Dochonna*. (124)

(109) O'Donnel, who is followed by Colgan, says (*L. l. c.* 67) that Columba, having built a church at Swords, consigned it to the care of St. Finan surnamed the *Leper*. He places its erection before Columba's departure from Ireland. In opposition to this story, it is sufficient to observe, that this St. Finan did not die until between the years 674 and 693, as mentioned in his Acts at 16 *Mart*. How then could he have governed a church before 563? He is well known in Irish history, and was himself the founder of the monastery of Swords, but undoubtedly after the death of Columba, to whose institution, however, it seems to have belonged. Ware does not make mention of it; yet Harris does;

erroneously ascribing it to St. Columba. Archdall has bungled his account of it in a most shameful manner. He says that it was founded in 512 by Columba. Yet this may be an error of the press, although not marked in his table of errata. For elsewhere he lays down, that Columba was born in 521. But what are we to think of his statement that Finan died before 563, and his referring to three different pages of the *Tr. Th.* in none of which does any such thing occur? In one of those pages (*p.* 509.) Colgan says that the monastery was founded prior to the year 563, but has nothing there about the time, in which Finan died. Archdall then adds, that others extend Finan's years to 593, or 597, and refers to his *Acts*. Now in the very page referred to, neither of these dates is mentioned; but, it is expressly stated, that Finan died between 674 and 693.

(110) Colgan was, to use a vulgar phrase, bewitched as to the mania of ascribing foundations of monasteries to our eminent saints. For his reckoning (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 494 and 509.) that of Rachlin among those established by Columba he refers to Adamnan (*L. 2. c.* 41.) and to O'Donnel (*L. 2. c.* 81.) The reader will be surprised at Colgan's inference, when he is told that those writers have not a word in the places referred to about a monastery in Rachlin, and merely to tell us that St. Columba happened to be there on a certain occasion, which is thus expressed by Adamnan; "Cum vir sanctus in Rechrea hospitaretur insula." They add that, while there, he reconciled a woman to her husband, having by his prayers obtained from God a change of her heart from inveterate hatred to true conjugal affection. According to Colgan's mode of deducing consequences, every place, in which the saint might have happened to spend a few days, should have been honoured with a monastery of his. Archdall, while meaning to follow Colgan as usual, fell into a blunder, which Colgan did not, although with a carelessness similar to that just noticed (*Not. prec.*) he refers to him for it. After saying that Columba founded a church in Rachlin he tells us, that the saint placed over it Colman a deacon. Here he confounds Rachlin with a place in the maritime part of Meath mentioned by O'Donnel (*L. 1. c.* 65.) under the name of *Rachraind Orientalis Breagh*, where, he says, Columba placed the deacon Colman over a church, which he had erected. Whether this be true or not is of little consequence.

O'Donnel, however, did not confound that place with the island, when he speaks of it, *L. 2. c. 81.* Nor did Colgan, who in one and the same page (*Tr. Th. p. 494*) makes mention of both of them as distinct, placing one immediately after the other.

(111) The Annals of Ulster and Tigernach assign to A. D. 635 the foundation of the church of Rechran or Rachlin by Se-genius abbot of Hy, (See Usher, *Ind Chron.*) to whom it is attributed also by the 4 masters quoted by Colgan. (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) notwithstanding his mistake in having ascribed it to Columba. Harris (*Monaster.*) makes Lugaid Laithir the founder of it about 591. He could have had no reason for this position, except his having misunderstood a passage of Usher (*Ind. Chron. ad A. 590*), where he observes that Lugaid, surnamed *Laithir*, is said to have founded a monastery in Rachlin. But Harris should have looked to the page of the *Primordia* referred to by Usher, and he would have found that the person, who said so, was the notorious Demp-ter, whose statement he merely mentions; while a few lines after he quotes the Annals of Ulster to show, that the church of Rachlin was founded in 635. Archdall, who swallowed every mistake, places Lugaid in Rachlin after his deacon Colman. (See *not. prec.*) Colgan thinks that this Lugaid governed a monastery before St. Columba's death, but, as will be seen lower down, different from that of Rachlin.

(112) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 509.*) calls Adamnan the *patron* and restorer of the monastery of Rathbotha (Raphoe). The title, *patron*, and the veneration, in which he was held there as such, seem to point out rather a founder than a restorer. It is true, that the Matyrology of Donegall reckons it among the establishments, partly monasteries, partly churches, formed by Columba before he went to Britain. But, as already observed, we are not bound to submit to its authority, unless corroborated by other documents. O'Donnel says (*L. 1. c. 58.*) that the saint repaired churches at Raphoe, without mentioning a monastery. Whether there were at any time many churches in that small town, I do not know; but it is certain, that one would have been sufficient for it in the days of St. Columba. Ware (*Ant. cap. 29.* and *Bishops at Raphoe*) ascribes a monastery there to Columba; but I believe he merely followed Colgan. The most that can be admitted is, I think, that the saint might have procured the erection of a

church in Raphoe for the accommodation of the people. And it is thus, if I mistake not, we are to understand what the said Martyrology has about other establishments of his in that neighbourhood, such as Kilmacrenan, Tulach-Dubhglaisse, Gartan, and Seinglean. If the saint had any thing to do with them, it may be justly supposed, that they were not monasteries but simple churches, which, through his influence with the princes of the country his relatives, he was able to erect or get erected. Ware and Harris have no monasteries in said places, nor does even O'Donnel make mention of any thing more than the churches, while the Martyrology leaves it doubtful whether they were monasteries or not. Yet Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 494.*) and his humble servant Archdall lay them down as such, besides others of equal uncertainty, and all as founded by Columba. Why should the saint have formed such a crowd of monasteries so near each other, while there was room enough at Derry for persons wishing to lead a monastic life?

(113) The Martyrology of Donegall reckons three Skrines among the establishments founded by Columba before he left Ireland; one in Meath, another in Ulster, and a third in Connaught. The Skrine or *Scrinium Sti. Columbæ* in Meath is well known, and Colgan observes (*Tr. Th. p. 494.*) that perhaps it got that name from the shrine of St. Columba, which might have been deposited there for some time after it was brought from Hy to Ireland in the year 875. If so, the commencement of the monastery or church called *Skrine*, must be brought down to the 9th century. At any rate it is plain that it did not exist until after the saint's death, whereas some reliques of his must have been supposed to be kept there so as to entitle it to that denomination. In like manner the other Skrines must be assigned to some period later than that, in which he lived. The second Skrine was, according to Colgan, in that northern part of the county and diocese of Derry, called the Magilligan country. Archdall gives the name of Magilligan to the monastery itself; and why? because Colgan says that it was in the tract called Ardia, *al. Aird-Magilligan*. He thought that Ardia, instead of being a large district, was only a village or townland. As to the Skrine in Connaught Colgan does not mark its situation; yet he seems to have thought that it was the same as the *Shrine of St. Adamnan*, now

Skreen, in the county of Sligo at a place anciently called Cnocna-moile, which in rather a modern Life of a St. Farannan (at 15 February) is said to have been granted by a prince Tiprad to St. Columba. (See Archdall at *Skrine*.) Why call it the *Shrine of Adamnan*, if it had existed since Columba's time? But Colgan adds another Skrine, or *Scrinium Sti. Columbae*, which, as appears from the 4 Masters, was in Kinel-Eoguin, now Tirone, and was plundered in the year 1203. Whether it was a monastery or church he does not tell us. Archdall has it not, having confounded it with the Skrine, which he calls *Magilligan*.

(114) The Martyrology of Donegall and O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 60.*) assign to him the foundation of this church or monastery, and prior to his departure for Britain. In the Life of Farannan (See *Not. prec.*) it is said that Columba, after his return to Ireland on occasion of the assembly of Drumceat, erected a church in Carbre, now the barony of Carbury in the county of Sligo. As Drumcliffe lies in that district, O'Flaherty supposed that this was the place meant in said Life, and thence (*MS. note to Tr. Th. p. 494.*) concluded, that the church of Drumcliffe was not founded until the year 590. It is, however, very probable that it did not exist until a later period. O'Donnel says that Columba placed over it Mothorianus one of his companions. Colgan tells us (*Tr. Th. p. 510.*) that *Mothorianus* is the same name as *Torianus* or *Toronnanus*. Then he mentions St. Tarannanus abbot of Bangor and Drumcliffe, but does not tell us at what time he lived, although owing to the misplacement of a date in the margin, it seems at first sight as if he placed him in the year 921, whereby Archdall was deceived (at *Drumcliffe*) so as to assign the death of the abbot Torannan to that year. It is very probable that this St. Tarannan was the same as Mothorianus. Now, if he was abbot also of Bangor, he must have lived in a later period than St. Columba, whereas we find a regular succession of abbots at Bangor, for many years after Columba's death, among whom there is no Torannan. I strongly suspect, that Tamannan, Toronnan or Mathorianus was no other than Thorannu, one of those disciples of Columba, who followed him to Britain. From having been particularly revered at Bangor and Drumcliffe, he might have been supposed to have been abbot in both places. In all probability Thorannu spent the remainder of his life out of

Ireland. (See below, *Not.* 160.) A strong presumption against the great antiquity of Drumcliffe arises from Colgan's not having been able to discover any intermediate abbot there between his Mothorianus or Tarranan and Mailpatrick, who died in 921, particularly as the church of Drumcliffe was very respectable. As to some of its late abbots having been called Comarbans or successors of St. Columba, that can be easily accounted for on the principle of its having been a monastery of his order. It is odd that neither Ware nor Harris make mention of it in their lists.

(115) Colgan made out (*Tr. Th.* p. 494.) a monastery of Columba's foundation in an island called *Inis-locha-gamhna*, or the island in Lough Gawn or Gawnagh in the barony of Granard, county of Longford. Archdall has it under the name *Inchymory*, and confounds it with *Inis-singin* in Lough-ree, where, as we have seen, Kieran of Clonmacnois had formed a monastery. Colgan refers only to O'Donnel (*L. I.* c. 104.) for the Columbian house in Lough Gawn. Now all, that O'Donnel says, is that the saint, as he was passing in that direction, blessed said lough or lake. This is certainly no authority for supposing that he established a monastery there. And yet Ware, (*Ant. cap.* 26.) has it as founded by Columba, and in the *fifth* century. For the former part of this position his only guide was, I believe, Colgan; and in the latter the word, *fifth*, must be an erratum, whereas Ware was too exact to let it slip from his pen. Harris and Archdall have copied it, not recollecting that Columba was not even born in that century. Colgan has also a monastery or church at Killchuana in the county of Sligo near Cnocnamoile, (See *Not.* 113.) for which he has no authority except the half fabulous Life of Tarranan, in which it is said that Columba placed there Cuannon, a disciple of his. Archdall, in his confusion on this point, removed this Killcuanagh or Kilcoonagh to the county of Galway, and made Cuannan a maternal brother of St. Carthag of Lismore. There is, however, a Kilcoonagh in Galway and in the deanery of Annadown, which was founded by Cuanna the brother of Carthag, whose birth Colgan assigns to the latter end of the sixth century in his Acts at 4 *Feb.* But he is not spoken of, nor could he, as a disciple of St. Columba. As to the Cuannan represented as such, and his Killchuanna in Sligo, nothing authentic is known, and we may justly reject what is said of them in the Life of

Farannan. Equally unknown is another pretended establishment of Columba in the same neighbourhood, and mentioned only in said Life, called *All Farannain*. The Martyrology of Donegall has among the saint's foundations Main in Leinster. The 4 Masters (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 494.*) call it (at A. 1014 and 1040) *Maoin-Columb-kille*. It might have had this name without having been founded by Columba. For [this purpose it was sufficient that it belonged to his order or institution. In what part of Leinster it was I cannot discover.

(116) To this class belonged, as Colgan seems to acknowledge, the church of Drumcollum, and some others in the diocese of Elphin; several churches in that of Derry, such as those of Cluain-ladhl or Clonleigh, Cluain-maine or Clonmany, and particularly Fathen-Mura (now Fahan) which was founded by St. Murus its abbot, as appears not only from its name, but likewise from his being the patron saint; and who, as his Acts show (at 12 Mart.) lived in the seventh century. To this we may add some also in the diocese of Raphoe, such as that of Tory island, in which, were we to believe O'Donnel and Colgan, Columba placed Ernan one of his disciples. But Colgan himself tells us (*AA. SS. p. 17.*) that this abbot Ernan, whom he calls son of Colman, flourished about the year 650, and therefore very many years after our saint's death. The system of attributing foundations to Columba on the mere principle of their bearing his name was carried so far, that a church (not an abbey as Archdall has it) in a place called *Glean-choluim-cille* in the West of Thomond, has been reckoned among them, although he does not appear to have ever been in that part of Ireland. It might as well be supposed that all the churches called by the name of St. Paul, had been erected by that Apostle. Smith not understanding the name *Tuamania*, which Colgan has, places (*Life, &c. p. 150.*) *Gleann-choluim-cille* in Tuam!!!

(117) One of these was the monastery which Adamnan (*L. 2. c. 26*) calls that of the two rivulets of the field, *duorum agri rivulorum*. In Messingham's edition (*L. 2. c. 14.*) the name is *Divini rivus rivulorum*. He tells us that St. Columba paid a visit to the monks there, being invited by them. This shows that he was not the founder of it, as in that case there would have been no occasion for any invitation. Yet Colgan reckons it among his esta-

blishments, and endeavours to show that it was the same as *Tir-da-chroebh* somewhere in Meath, where he found that a St. *Lugaid* was held in veneration. Next he conjectures (*Tr. Th. p. 377*) that this *Lugaid* was the same as the surnamed *Laithir*, a disciple of St. Columba, often mentioned by Adamnan, particularly (*L. 2. c. 38.*) where he calls him the saint's *legatē* or messenger. But *Tir-da-chroebh* does not mean a place of two rivulets, nor does there appear to be an error in Adamnan's text as to *rivorum*; for O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 15.*) calls that establishment *Mainister an da shruth*, i. e. the monastery of the two brooks. Thus then Colgan's speculations remain quite unsupported. And as to the name *Lugaid*, it was so common that it cannot afford an argument for the truth of his hypothesis. Archdall, instead of communicating to his readers Colgan's ideas as conjectures, has (at *Tirdacroebh*) laid them down as facts. Another monastery ascribed by Colgan to St. Columba is that of *Cloinfinchoil*, supposed to be Clonfeakle in the county of Armagh. For this position he had no other authority than the following anecdote related by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 23.*) There was, he says, in an Irish monastery called *Clon-finchoil* (name omitted in *L. 3. c. 18.* in Messingh. *ed.*) a holy old soldier of Christ, of the name of *Lugaid* (*al. Lagud*) son of *Talchan*, to whom the death of St. Columba was revealed in a vision at the very time it happened. Early the next morning he imparted it to another holy man called *Fergnaus* or *Virgnous*, (different, as will be seen hereafter, from *Fergnaus*, abbot of Hy) and told him that he saw the island of Hy, where he had never been, illuminated with an angelical brightness, and hosts of angels conveying Columba's soul to heaven. *Fergnaus* went shortly after to one of the Western islands called *Hynba*, where, having become a Columbian monk, he often related this fact. Now there is nothing in this narrative to make us believe that *Cloin-finchoil* was a Columbian monastery; for it does not appear that *Fergnaus*, was, at least at the time he got that information from *Lugaid*, a Columbian monk, or that he was a member of the monastery of *Cloin-finchoil*. Nor is there any foundation for making *Lugaid* abbot in that place. Colgan indeed does, (*Tr. Th. p. 493*) and gives him that title at *2 Mart.* where he treats of him; but without adducing any additional argument. Had Adamnan known that he was an

abbot he would not have omitted to call him so. Harris and Archdall have followed Colgan. The former says that Lugaïd died in 580. How then could he have had a vision concerning Columba's death in 596 or 597? The latter tells us that he was a very aged man in that year. To understand this bungling, the reader must observe, that Usher reckons (*Ind. Chron.*) among several illustrious men, who flourished in 580, Lugað, son of Talchan, an *old soldier of Christ*, alluding to the phrase used by Adamnan. But although he was old at the time Columba died, he might not have been thought so in 580; nor was that Usher's meaning. Harris, however, went much farther astray than Archdall; for, while Usher says, *flourished*, he introduces *death*. Nothing could stop Colgan in his hunting after Columbian institutions. A curious instance occurs in his placing (*Tr. Th. p. 494*) among them a monastery at Cluinaich in the diocese of Derry. Yet somewhere more than once (*ex. c. ib. p. 460, 489.*) he calls it only a church near Derry, which he conjectures to have been governed by one Columba, named *Crag*. This Columba happens to be mentioned by Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 2.*) who calls him a venerable clergyman, *venerandum clericum*. Upon this mere mention of his name (Colgan, *ib. p. 489.*) makes him a disciple of St. Columba. Now it is evident from Adamnan, that he was not; for he is introduced as asking two monks, who had just arrived at his habitation from Derry; "is your holy father Columba safe and well?" Had he been himself a disciple of the saint, he would have said not *your* but *our*. To the illogical process, by which Colgan changed Columba Crag into a monk, and gave him a monastery, Archdall has, as he often does, added something of his own. For (at *Cluainenach*) he tells us, that St. Columba founded an abbey there, and made Colum Crag, his disciple, abbot of it. It is thus that, next after this monastery, talking of Clonmanny (Cluain-maine) he says it was built by St. Columba, although Colgan has no such thing. (Compare with *Not. prec.*)

(118) Adaman (*L. 3. c. 23.*) makes mention of one Ernene, whose name, he says, may be interpreted *Ferreolus*, (from the Irish word *Earnach*, or *Iarran*, iron) and says that he was buried in *Dorso Tommae* (Druim-Tomma) among the remains of other monks of St. Columba. Accordingly there was a monastery in

that place, founded most probably by the saint himself. Adamnan had seen Ernene, when very old, but speaks of him as having been a strong working man at the time of Columba's death. He does not represent him as the founder of that establishment, as Harris does; nor does he even make him abbot there, although Archdall presumes to say, that we are informed he was. Who gave that information, is quite unknown to me; certainly not Adamnan, who exhibits him as a simple monk; nor even Colgan, who, expressly treating of him at 1 *January*, merely tells us, he spent a great part of his life at Druim-Tomma, and was buried there. In one passage indeed, (*Tr. Th.* p. 490) he calls him, but without adducing any authority, abbot of that place. This seems to have been a slip of the pen.

(119) Adamnan relates (*L. 1. c. 20*) that Baitan had, on a certain occasion, applied to Columba for his blessing, and that, having governed for many years a small establishment, *cellula*, at Sath-reginden, he died at Derry. This last circumstance seems to show, that he was a Columbian monk. Colgan conjectured that the true name of the place was perhaps *Rath-reginden*, and that, as Baitan died at Derry, it was in some not far distant tract and probably somewhere in Tirconnel, and in the diocese of Derry. Archdall, in his usual blundering manner, introduces Colgan as speaking positively on the subject; and, not content with so doing, instead of Tirconnel, he has that place under *county of Derry*, adding that Colgan says it was founded by St. Columba; whereas, on the contrary, Colgan expressly states (*Tr. Th.* p. 377), that Baitan was the founder of it.

(120) We read in Adamnan, (*L. 1. c. 50*) who latinizes its name into *Cella magna Deathrib*, that, on St. Columba's arrival there on some particular occasion, several presents were brought to him by the people of the neighbourhood. O'Donnel says (*L. 1. c. 110.*) that he kept a school in that monastery. This is stated also in the life of St. Munna of Taighmon. Adamnan's words prove indeed, that there was such a monastery in the saint's time, but make it only probable that he was the founder of it. Yet, combined with the latter authorities, they seem to form a strong argument in favour of the common opinion, which I shall not controvert, as I do not find any thing material in opposition to it.

(121) Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 494.) places it in Connaught, without

telling us in what part of that great province. Elsewhere he has it in Cavan. (See *Not.* 40 to *Chap.* x.)

(122) This monastery is mentioned by Adamnan (*L.* c. 45), who relates that one day, when St. Columba happened to be in Ireland (after the foundation of Hy) Columbanus drove a curricie in which they were both seated. He does not expressly say, that Columbanus was a disciple of his; but it cannot be doubted, that he was; for he appears as accompanying the saint, who had come to Ireland for some ecclesiastical purposes, "*aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus coactus.*" (*Messingh. ed L.* 2. c. 18.) Instead of *utilitatibus* Colgan's edition (*lo. cit.*) has *visitantibus*, which makes no sense, and renders the author's meaning quite confused. Adamnan then observes, that this Columbanus was the founder of the monastery, called *Snam-luthir*. But it does not appear, whether he founded it before or after St. Columba's death. Archdall says, that Columbanus was, as we are told, the saint's charioteer. This is like what he has about St. Brigid's *coachman*. Did he imagine that St. Columba kept chariots? Or is it because Columbanus happened to drive the vehicle, in which the saint was travelling, that he must be called a charioteer?

(123) Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 31.) speaks of Finten as young, when, among others, accompanying St. Columba in a journey across the *Dorsum Britannicum* (Drum-Albain) he became dangerously ill. The saint gave him his blessing, and foretold that he would live to a good old age; which was verified by his having afterwards founded Kailli-abinde and his not dying until far advanced in years. Adamnan does not mention his having ever returned to Ireland; nor could Colgan discover any place of that name. He says indeed, that there is a church in Carbury (Sligo), called *Caille*; but he could not find Finten there, instead of whom a St. Muadnata was revered. Besides, what becomes of *abinde*, the second part of said name, by which it was meant to distinguish Finten's monastery from other establishments called *Kailli* or *Caille*? Archdall leaps over these difficulties, and gives us a monastery of Cailleavinde in the county of Sligo.

(124) O'Donnel (*L.* 1. c. 104.) relates, that St. Columba, having dedicated that place to God, left there as superior Dochonna, or, as he calls him, Dachonna. Colgan says, when expressly treating of him, (*AA. SS. ed 8. Mart.*) that he was more gene-

rally called *Mochonna*, but observes that his real name was *Chonna*, to which if *Mo* be prefixed, we have *my Chonna*; if *Do* or *Da*, *thy Chonna*. An author of a *Life of St. Columba*, quoted by Colgan (*ib.*), also calls him *Dachonna*, and tells us that St. Columba erected a monastery at Eas-mac-neirc, and gave him the care of it. Colgan states that he was of the family of a famous chieftain, Erc, from whom that place got the additional name of *mac-neirc*, signifying the *sons of Erc*. It is mentioned in the Tripartite life of St. Patrick (*L. 2. c. 101.*), where he is said to have foretold that Columb-kill would establish a monastery there. (See also Joceline, *cap. 90.*) Ware thought (*Ant. cap. 26 at Roscommon*) it might have been the same as Inchmacnerin, an island in Lough-kee. This cannot be reconciled with the older writers, who never speak of it as an island, and agree in placing it on the bank of the river Buell or Boyle. According to Colgan (*loc. cit.* and *Tr. Th. p. 494.*) it was the very monastery, which, many centuries later, fell into the possession of the Cisterian order, and became so famous under the name of Abbey of Boyle. The foundation of it is assigned by O'Donnel, &c. &c. to some time previous to the saint's departure for Britain; and here it will not be amiss to observe that, whatever monasteries were established in Ireland by himself in person, they were, as well as I can discover, all prior to that epoch.

§. XI. Besides the saint's exertions for establishing religious communities and churches, several other circumstances are related as forming part of his history. But, as they rest on very doubtful authority, we may pass them by, (125) and now proceed to inquire into the occasion or cause of his determination to leave Ireland. A silly story is told relative to this subject, and with circumstances quite unbecoming the conduct of holy men and even the gravity of common history. (126) The substance of it is as follows. Columba, happening to be on a visit with St. Finnian of Maghbile at Druimfionn, (127) borrowed from him a manuscript of some part of the holy scriptures, which he immediately set about transcribing, unknown to Finian. When he had nearly finished his copy of it, Finian, being apprized of the business,

was highly displeased at Columba's conduct, and told him that he ought not to have transcribed a book, his property, without his permission. Next he insisted on getting said copy from Columba, maintaining that he had a right to it, inasmuch as it was the offspring of his manuscript. (128) To this strange plea Columba replied, that he would leave the matter to the arbitration of Diermit then king of all Ireland, who, on the case being laid before him, decided in favour of Finnian. Columba, irritated at this unjust sentence, declared to him in the presence of all the by-standers, that it would not pass unrevenged. Then we are told how about the same time Curnan, son of Aidus king of Connaught, fled to Columba for protection against the fury of Diermit, and how, by his order, that young prince was dragged from the saint's bosom and immediately put to death. (129) This atrocity added still more to Columba's resentment, so that, addressing the king, he told him that he would make a complaint to the princes, his relatives, for the various insults he had received from him. Accordingly he secretly set out for his own country, and, having escaped some snares laid for him by Diermit, arrived safe in Ulster. Anmireus, his cousin, then chieftain of Kinell-Connuill, and the two brothers Fergus and Domnald, heads of Kinel-Eoguin (Tyrone), on being informed of Diermit's proceeding, soon raised an army, and, being assisted by Aidus king of Connaught, challenged him to battle. (130) The engagement took place at Culdremni, (131) while Finian was praying for the success of the king's party, and, on the other side, Columba for that of his relatives and friends. (132) The prayers of the latter being more efficacious, Diermit's army was defeated with the loss of 3000 men, whereas of their antagonists there fell only one man. (133) Then come some other circumstances, which it would be idle to mention; and the whole of this notable story ends with telling us, that Columba felt remorse for

the part he had acted in these troubles, and that he was directed by several holy men to undergo whatever penance would be enjoined on him by St. Lasrean, *al.* Molassius, of Devenish, who, on being applied to, ordered him to quit Ireland for ever, and to exert himself for the salvation of as many others as had fallen in that war. (134)

(125) It is really surprising that Smith, who, besides D. D. calls himself an honorary member of the Antiquarian society of Scotland, could have been so unacquainted not only with the true history of St. Columba, but likewise with the general history of the times, as to send him travelling to foreign countries before he settled in Hy, that is prior to A. D. 563, and representing him as caressed by king Sigebert (of Austria) and founding a monastery in Italy. He applies to him a passage of Walafrid Strabo, which is in this writer's Life of St. Gallus, a tract which Smith must not have seen, as otherwise he would have immediately perceived, that our Columba was not the person there spoken of, but Columbanus the disciple of Comgall and founder of the monasteries of Luxeuil and Bobbio. It is true, that these two great men have been confounded together by some former writers, and, among others, by Dempster, whose ignorance and impertinence on this point have been well exposed by Usher (p. 688). Smith followed Dempster, or some equally bad authority. But surely every one in our days, tolerably conversant in the history of Europe, knows that Columbanus, who became so celebrated in France and Italy, was a quite different person from Columbkille, and that he did not arrive in France until about the year 590. As to Columbkille, it is evident from his whole history, that he never visited any part of the Continent. O'Donnel's fable (*L. 3. c. 27. seqq.*) about his journey to Rome in the time of Gregory the great, and on his return stopping at Tours, is treated with indifference even by Colgan, who shows that some parts of it are absolutely false.

(126) O'Donnel has this story at great length in the beginning of his second book. Usher has given it, (p. 902. *seqq.*) in an abridged and less exceptionable form, from a foolish anonymous writer, who had the impudence to refer to Adamnan as his authority; although, as Usher observes, (p. 1194.) Adamnan could not

have written such trash. (Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 462.) copied it from Usher. The author was so ignorant as to call Gildas a Saxon. We find some similar stuff in Keating (*B. 2. p. 28. seqq. ed. a. 1723.*) taken from such documents as the Black book of Molaga.

(127) See *Not.* 89 to *Chap. x.*

(128) In the account published by Usher, instead of a question about a book, we have, according to his printed text, one about a freeman, pro "*quodam libero respectendo.*" And soon after he has "*liberi.*" This must be owing to his having misunderstood the MS. whence he took it, so as to read *libero* and *liberi* for *libro* and *libri*, as Colgan has them, who knew more about this foolish tradition than Usher did. Yet Usher might have been easily deceived, as the matter is introduced abruptly without any mention of Fianian, who, on the contrary, according to said account, could not have been, as will be seen lower down, the person, between whom and Columba any such dispute existed.

(129) This anecdote relating to Curnan does not occur in the narrative as given by Usher.

(130) The matter is differently and more rationally stated in Usher's account, according to which Columba merely threatened Diarmot with the vengeance of God, and then left the court in disgust. It is added that the king, incensed at the declaration made by the saint, proceeded with an army towards Tirconnel for the purpose of extirpating all his connexions and subduing their country. Thus he, not they, was the aggressor in this war.

(131) Adamnan calls it *Culedreicbhe*. It was in the territory of Carbre, not far from Sligo to the North. The battle was fought in the year 561, (See *Not.* 76.) as appears from the Annals of Ulster. Johnston must have fallen into some mistake, where in Extracts from those Annals he marks this battle at A. 559 (560). It was, I dare say, on Johnston's authority, that Pinkerton also (*Not. to Adamnan, L. 1. c. 7.*) assigned it to the said year. Yet in a note to Cumineus (*cap. 22*) he agrees with Usher as to Columba's arrival in Britain A. D. 563. Thus he must have supposed, that the true year of the battle was 561. The 4 Masters have 555 (556); but Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 452) rejects this date, and adopts that of Usher.

(132) In the account (*ap. Usher*) Columba alone is introduced

as praying for the protection of his friend, against the fury of Diernit's forces, for whom no saint is mentioned as interceding.

(133) According to what we find in Usher not even one man of this party was killed; and the slaughter of the king's troops is attributed to the appearance, in their camp, of an Angel in human form of an enormous size, in a military garb, heading a few men, at which sight they were so terrified that, instead of attacking their opponents, they fled precipitately, and in their hurry to escape, many of them killed each other.

(134) Not Lasrean but Finnian appears (*ap.* Usher) as the person to whom Columba applied for a suitable penance, and who prescribed it, omitting the part relative to perpetual exile. Following this account, Finnian could not have been the plaintiff in the pretended question about the book, nor his opponent during the battle.

(135) Adamnan relates, (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that, a short time before his sailing for Britain, Columba went to pay a visit to his venerable old master Finnian, who, on his approaching, saw him accompanied by an Angel, and said to some brethren then present; "Behold the holy Columba, who has merited the having a celestial being as his companion."

§. XII. Who does not see, that this is not history but poetry, and that there is scarcely a word of truth in it, except that such a battle was fought, and that it is very probable that St. Columba, without having been at all concerned in bringing it about, prayed for the protection of his kinsmen and their subjects against the fury of Diernit, who was bent on exterminating them? No one of common sense will admit the fable of the quarrel about the book, the groundwork of this ludicrous drama. And as to any dispute between Columba and Finnian, it is evident from Adamnan, that it did not occur, and that these two saints retained their mutual friendship and esteem to the last. (135) Equally groundless is his having been ordered to do penance for what occurred in that war, and to subject himself to perpetual exile. (136) Besides the retailers of this story differing among themselves as to the person, who imposed the penance,

and the nature of it, (137) we find Columba remaining in Ireland for about two years after the battle, instead of fulfilling his penitential task, and afterwards returning to it, notwithstanding that pretended condemnation to *perpetual* banishment. Nor does it appear, that the attempt at excommunicating Columba, which was frustrated by the interposition of Brendan of Birr, took place after the battle of Culdremni, it being much more probable that it occurred several years prior to it. (138) It is now clear that all that has been said about Columba having been the cause or occasion of that battle, and consequently of his departure from Ireland, rests upon no other authority than the jarring fictions of some poetasters, who strove to embellish their rhapsodies with tales of saints contending against each other in support of the respective armies, for which they implored victory. And yet even in our days persons have been found either so foolish or malignant as to rake out those stories from the obscurity, into which they had fallen, and to deal them out to the public. (139) The true, or, at least, principal cause of St. Columba's going to Britain was his zeal for the conversion of the Northern Picts, who were still in a state of paganism, (140) and for the better instruction of his countrymen who were settled in Argyle and other adjacent tracts. (141) Besides this cause another is mentioned, which, indeed, may be admitted, as it implies nothing absurd or contradictory. It is said, that not having been able to succeed in his endeavours to reconcile the princes his relatives, and to make them desist from the deadly feuds, in which they engaged, this unhappy state of things was an additional motive for his leaving Ireland. (142) That he communicated his plan to some of the distinguished saints of that period and consulted them concerning it, is very probable. (143) We know that, a short time before his sailing for Britain, he paid a visit to his old master Finnian of Maghbile; (144) and Bren-

dan of Birr is said to have directed him to form his establishment in the small island, which bore the name of one of the letters of the alphabet, *I*. (145)

(136) In the Life of St. Laureanus referred to by Usher (*p.* 1066.) and quoted by Colgan (*Tr. Th. p.* 461.) part of the sentence said to have been pronounced by him is thus expressed; “*Ut perpetuo moraretur extra Hiberniam in exilio.*” Hence O'Donnel took what he also has about a *perpetual* exile.

(137) See *Not.* 134.

(138) Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 3.*) gives a very clear account of this transaction. A certain synod, he says, had issued a sentence of excommunication, not justly as afterwards appeared, against Columba, on account of some venial and excusable proceedings. On his arrival at said synod, Brendan, who had seen him at a distance, rose up, saluted him with great respect, and embraced him. Some of the elders, then taking Brendan apart, expostulated with him for his having shown such attention to a person, whom they had excommunicated. He replied; “If you had seen what the Lord has been pleased to make manifest to me this day concerning this elect of his, whom you are dishonouring, you would have never passed that sentence; whereas the Lord does not in any manner excommunicate him, in virtue of your wrong sentence, but rather exalts him still more and more.” On their asking how this could be he told them, that he saw a luminous pillar advancing before this man of God, when on his way, and holy Angels accompanying him through the plain. “Therefore,” he added, “I dare not treat with contempt him, whom I see preordained by God as a guide of nations to life.” Upon which the proceedings were withdrawn, and the whole synod paid him the greatest respect and veneration. In Messingham's edition (*L. 3. c. 2.*) there is a stupid note attributing that excommunication to Columba's mode of observing Easter. There was no dispute in Ireland about the time of celebrating that festival until after his death. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) places it in the year 561 after the battle of Culdremni, as if it had taken place in consequence of said battle. Were this the case, it would set aside at once the story of the penance laid upon Columba, whereas the synod acknowledged that he did not deserve any censure. But there is every reason to think that it occurred se-

veral years earlier. Brendan seems to speak of him as one not yet invested with much authority, or very generally respected, destined, however, to be a leader of souls to heaven. O'Donnel (*L. 1. c. 42*) represents him as a youth at that time; but Brendan's calling him a *man of God* shows, that he was not then very young. It is highly probable, that the whole transaction ought to be assigned to about 550 or somewhat later, when Columba was planning his monastery of Durrough. (See above §. 8. and *Not. 97.*) at which time Brendan was already abbot of Birr. (*Not. 28* above; and *Not. 190* to *Chap. x.*) This supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of the synod having been held in a place called (Colgan's Adamnan, *L. 3. c. 9.*) *Hiseille* or the district of Seilts, which Colgan conjectures, and I think justly, to have been the same as Maggesilde in Leinster, afterwards contracted into *Geisille*. Colgan's *Geisille* must be the now barony of Geashill in the King's county, which is not far distant from Durrough, and lay convenient for the attendance of Brendan.

(139) Besides Warner, O'Halloran, an equally wretched authority as to our church history, repeats all this nonsense more than once. (*Hist. &c. B. VIII. ch. 4-7.*) Dr. Ledwich, notwithstanding his admiration of Columba and his pretended Culdees, says, (*Antiq. &c. p. 57*) that "he instigated a bloody war without just cause, of which being made sensible he abjured his native land by a *voluntary* exile." The reader is already able to judge, what truth there is in this assertion; nor would I have troubled him with a refutation of those fables, were it not for the purpose of guarding him against giving credence to such vile imputations against the character of that truly holy man. But why did not the Doctor give the story, as he found it? Why call his exile *voluntary* in opposition to O'Donnel, the only biographer of Columba, who has this story (although the Doctor talks of *biographers*), and who exhibits it as enjoined on him by St. Molassius? Perhaps our antiquary thought, that the injunction of penances smelt of Popery.

(140) Bede writes (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that he came to Britain for the purpose of preaching to that people: "Venit de Hybernia-Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium pictorum."

(141) Adamnan (*Second Preface* al. *L. 1. c. 1.*) comprizes the

two objects in a few words ; “ De Scotia ad Britanniam, *pro Christo* peregrinari volens, enavigavit.” The phrase *pro Christo* alludes not to Columba’s own salvation, which he might have worked at home as well as any where else, but to the extension of the glory of Christ and the advantage of souls. The Martyrology of Donegal (*ap. Tr. Th. p. 483.*) has very well illustrated this subject. After stating his exertions for the good of religion in Ireland, it adds ; “ *Salutis animarum et propagandae fidei aestuans desiderio, in Albionem profectus ibi extruxit famosum illud Hyense et alia plurima monasteria et ecclesias ; et in ea regione, quam de tenebris idolatriae fidei luci asseruit, et in religionis ac bonorum operum principiis solidavit plura praestitit beneficia et obsequia Deo grata quam in patria Hiberniae regione.*” In the whole account or abridged Life of Columba, given in this Martyrology, there is not a word relative to his having been in any wise concerned in the war above treated of, or to the pretended penance laid on him, &c.

(142) Life of St. Farannan at 15 Feb. There were furious contests at that period between the southern and northern Nialls, to both of which parties Columba was related. The battle of Culdremni was one effect of their quarrels.

(143) Usher collected (*Ind. Chron. p. 563*) from anecdotes, which he had met with here and there, that Columba left Ireland in consequence of the advice of Finnian of Clonard, Brendan of Birr, and Lasrean *al.* Molassius. That he might have consulted several of his eminent friends is not improbable, but we are not to suppose, what Usher seemed to think, that his motives for quitting his country were of a merely prudential or political nature. In the passage now referred to Usher fell into a strange and with him unusual contradiction. He calls the Finnian, to whom, according to the document published by himself, and which he points out to the reader, Columba is said to have applied for advice and penance after the battle of Culdremni, (See *Not. 134*) by the name of Finnian of Clonard. Now he had already laid down, that this Finnian died in 552. Usher’s mistake proceeded from his not having been acquainted with the history of Finnian of Maghbile, who was the Finnian spoken of by Adamnan, Cumineus, and others, as the master and friend of Columba. (See *Not. 74 and 81. to Chap. x.*) This mistake stag-

gered for a while Colgan as to the time of the death of Fianian of Clonard. But he corrected himself afterwards. Harris blindly following the same mistake, (*Bishops*. p. 136.) among other bungling about Columba and said Finnian, makes the latter live until 563.

(144) See *Not.* p. 135.

(145) Life of Brendan, quoted by Usher (p. 1059.) and Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 462.) *I*, which is one of the Irish names of an island in general, was probably the original name, by which *Hy*, *al. Iona*, as now more generally called, was known. By prefixing an aspirate to it was formed *Hy* as Bede calls it. In the annals of Ulster and Tigernach it is called *Ia*; in the Life of St. Blaithmaic by Walafrid Strabo *Eo*. See further variations of this name in Usher (p. 697.) and Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 495), who says, that in old Irish documents it is sometimes spelled *Io*, from which, with great probability, he derives *Iona*, as an adjective, so that *insula Iona* means the island of *Io*. By degrees it became to be considered as a substantive, and, being declinable, was preferred by several authors when writing in Latin. Baxter (*Glossar. ad Sordinas*) has a foolish derivation from the Irish *I*, and the Pictish *Onas*, both of which, he says, signify *island*. Who would have tacked together two names from different languages in this tautological manner? Nor do we even find that it was ever written *Ionas*. Some have said that *Iona* means *island of waves*. (Garnett's *Tour in the Highlands*, &c. Vol. 1. p. 246.) Where is to be met with a Gaelic word *ona* of that signification? In some editions of Adamnan *Iova* appears by mistake (*mendose*, as Usher and Colgan observe) for *Iona*. The mighty Ledwich, who talks about Gothic without any knowledge of its ancient dialects, says (p. 59) that "*I*, *Hy*, &c. are obviously the Gothic *Ai*, *Ei*, referring to its oval or egg-like shape." What a parade of learning! Why not, instead of *Gothic*, have said either the *German* or *Low Dutch*, in which *Ey*, *Ei* signify an egg? But *Gothic* has a more recondite sound. Now the Doctor, should have looked for the genuine Gothic name for an egg, and he would have found that it was *egg*, from which was derived the old Alemannic *eig*, since softened into *ei*, (See Ihre, *Glossar. Sueigothic*, &c. at *Egg*.) The name *I* or *Hy* was in use before an egg was ever called *ei*.

§. XIII. Before St. Columba set out for the island, now known by the name of *I-Columb-kill*, but which for shortness sake I shall call *Hy*, he must have got permission from the proprietor of it to settle there. Accordingly the grant of it made to him by his relative Conall king of the Albanian Scots (146) ought to be placed before his departure from Ireland, as it can scarcely be imagined, that he would have directed his course, and attended by a number of followers, to that small island without his being allowed to inhabit it. For it must be observed, that he is generally represented as having sailed straight from Ireland to Hy, (147) together with twelve of his disciples. (148) The year of his arrival, after a short passage was 563. (149) Having erected a monastery and a church, and arranged such matters as were connected with his establishment, in which occupation, besides his visiting the territories of his relatives in the mainland of Britain, he may have passed about two years; (150) Columba, taking with him some assistants, undertook his wished for task of converting the Northern Picts, who inhabited the whole of modern Scotland to the North of the great range of the Grampian mountains. (151) He was the first Christian missionary that appeared in that then wild country. (152) When arrived at the residence of king Brude, (153) he found the gate closed; and the king gave orders that it should not be opened; upon which the saint, advancing with his companions, made the sign of the cross on it, and, on his then pushing it with his hand, it immediately flew open. Brude, being apprized of this prodigy, was, together with his council, struck with terror, and went forward to meet Columba, whom he welcomed in the most kind and respectful manner, and ever after treated with every mark of attention. (154) It is probable, that the king's conversion took place not long after; but the *Magi*, the chief of whom seems to have been one Broichan,

(155) exerted themselves to prevent the missionaries from preaching to the people; and it is particularly related that, one evening, while the saint and a few of his brethren were celebrating Vespers near the royal residence or castle, some of those *magi* coming near them did all they could to hinder them from being heard by the inhabitants, but that all their efforts were fruitless. (156) The Almighty was pleased to confirm Columba's mission by various miracles, the most remarkable of which was the resurrection of a boy, who had died a few days after he and his parents, together with the whole family, became Christians, through the saint's preaching, and were baptized. From the circumstance of his death some *magi* took occasion to jeer and insult his parents, and to boast that their gods were stronger than the God of the Christians. Columba, being apprized of the whole matter, went to the parents' house, and, desiring them to confide in the divine omnipotence, was shown into the place where the body was stretched. Then, having ordered those who were assembled there to withdraw, he prayed most fervently for some time, and directing his eyes to the body, said; "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ rise, and stand upon thy feet." Immediately the boy returned to life, and opened his eyes. The saint, lifting him up, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to his parents, upon which the people raise a shout, lamentation is changed into joy, and the God of Christians is glorified. (157)

(146) We have seen above (Not. 73), that St. Columba was related to the Dalriadan dynasty, which formed the Scottish kingdom in Britain. To understand the relationship between him and Conall it is to be observed, that the latter was great grandson to Fergus brother of Lorn, one of the great grandfathers of the saint. Conall's pedigree is very clearly traced in the line of the first Scottish kings; 1. Lorn. 2. Fergus his brother.

3. Domangard son of Fergus. 4. Comgall son of Domangard. 5. Gauran, brother to Comgall. 6. Conall son of Comgall, and nephew to Gauran. (See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 472, 473.) That Conall was the prince, who made a grant of Hy to Columba, is proved from the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach, and from the circumstance that it was an appendage of his kingdom. Hence it appears, that Bede was mistaken (*L.* 3. c. 4.) in attributing that grant to Bridius king of the Northern Picts. For in the first place Hy was, as Usher remarks, (*p.* 703), too far distant from the Pictish territories to form a part of them; being near the S. W. angle of Mull, which lies adjacent to the coast then possessed by Conall. Next how is it to be supposed, that Bridius, who was still a pagan when Columba arrived at Hy, would have been applied to by him for any grant, or would have voluntarily made him one? Bede indeed thought, that Columba did not get possession of Hy until after the conversion of Bridius and his subjects; but this supposition cannot be reconciled with the series of the saint's history, as constantly given, from which it is plain that he did not undertake that mission before he had there formed his establishment. Without appealing to O'Flaherty, the 4 Masters, and several old Scotch authorities (See *Tr. Th.* p. 496.) Chalmers admits (*Caledonia Vol.* 1. p. 265 and 322) that Hy was granted to the saint by Conall. Those, who have called it a Pictish island, merely followed Bede.

(147) In the second Life, a work taken from older documents, (See *Not.* 70) it is related (*cap.* 6.), that St. Columba, thinking that the proper time was come for preaching to the Picts, left his country, and sailed for Hy, where having erected a monastery, &c. O'Donnell says, (*L.* 2. c. 11.) that directing his course to Albion he landed in Hy on the eve of Pentecost, and that, having driven some Druids out of the island, he set about erecting a monastery. And in the Life of Farannan we read; "Peregrinationis cursum direxit sanctissimus pater (Columba) in insulam Hi, ubi," &c. It may perhaps be objected, that Cumineus and Adamnan say, that he sailed from Ireland to Britain. But as Hy was a British island, although then possessed by the Scots, they might, without any inconsistency, have included it under that name, particularly as the saint intended to go not long after, as he actually did, to Britain strictly so called. I shall not stop to inquire into

the truth of a sort of story, that St. Columba landed in Knapdale in Argyle before he proceeded to Hy. (See *Statist. Acc. of Scotland*, Vol. xix. p. 314.)

(148) Adamnan writes ; (L. 3. c. 4.) " Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit." Usher (p. 694) has given their names from an appendix to a copy of Adamnan in the Cottonian library, now in the British Museum, and from which Pinkerton added them to his edition. Colgan justly observes (*Tr. Th.* p. 487) that Usher's arrangement of the names is not all through correct, particularly in his making *Mocutheimne* and *Mocufir* proper names of distinct persons, whereas in reality they are surnames, meaning descendants of Theimne and Fir by prefixing *Mocu* or *Mocua*, which, as used by Adamnan and other old Irish writers, has that signification. Yet Colgan's own arrangement is in one or two points not very satisfactory. Without troubling the reader with further inquiries, or pointing out the mistakes of Hector Boethius and the lies of Dempster (See Usher, p. 695) concerning these twelve persons, I shall endeavour to mark them as distinctly as I am able. " 1. Baithen, qui et Commin, sancti successor Columbae. 2. Cobtach frater ejus (i. e. of Baithen). 3. Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbae. 4. Dermittus ejus ministrator. 5. 6. Rus et Fethuo, duo filii Rodani. 7. Scandal filius Bresail, filii Endei, filii Neil. 8. Luguid Mocutheimne. 9. Echoid. 10. Thorannu Mocufir. 11. Cetea. 12. Cairnaan filius Branduib filii Meilgi Grillaan." Colgan has some doubts about Cetea, and was willing to put him out of the list. On the other hand, he makes *Grillaan* the name of a distinct person instead of joining it with Usher, as a surname to Meilgi. Pinkerton agrees with him as to Grillaan, and following a conjecture of his, adds *Cetea* to *Mocufir*, thus making Thorannu's surname *Mocufircetea*.

(149) (See *Not.* 76. Bede says (*Epitome*, &c.) that Columba came to Britain, for the purpose of teaching the Picts, in the year 565 ; and elsewhere (L. 3. c. 4.) he observes, that his arrival was in the ninth year of the reign of Bridius king of the Picts. From a comparison of these dates Hermannus Contractus laid down in his Chronicle, that Bridius began to reign in 557. Hence, after passing through various hands, this notation of Bridius' reign was thrust into an edition of Count Marcellinus without the authority of any

copy of said Chronicle in its genuine state (See Usher p. 692.) Yet I find this Chronicle still referred to for the beginning of that reign. (Chalmers, *Caledon. Pictish period.*) But, setting it and that of Hermannus aside, it is clear that Bede must have supposed, that the first year of Bridius' reign was either 557, or more probably 556, to which it is assigned by Innes in his Chronological table, and from him, by Chalmers, *ib.* They call him *Bridei*, which agrees with the *Bridius* of Bede. Adamnan calls him *Brudeus*, as does Buchanan (*Rer. Scot. L. 5. ad reg. 49.*). His real name was, I believe, *Brude*, which was a very common appellation of the Pictish kings, thirty of whom are spoken of, as having been so called in the *Chronicon Pictorum*, published by Innes (*Critical Essay, &c. Vol. 2.*); and Buchanan (at *reg. 68*) has two more of those kings under the name of *Brudus*. To return to Bede's date, 565, Usher has proved, and it is now universally admitted, that Columba's arrival in Hy ought to be assigned to 563. Yet, if it be considered that Bede alluded chiefly to the time, in which Columba commenced his mission among the Picts, the two dates may in some manner be reconciled. For, although he reached Hy in 563, he might not have gone into the Pictish territories until 565, after having spent about two years in forming his establishment in the island. And it is very remarkable that Bede (*L. 3. c. 4.*) makes Columba live about 32 years after his arrival in Britain, whereas Adamnan expressly states, (*Second Pref. al. L. 1. c. 1. and L. 3. c. 22.*) that he did not die until 34 years after his departure from Ireland. Now comparing all these dates, the result is the same as to the time of Columba's death; inasmuch as 32 added to 565 bring us to the same point as 34 added to 563. Adamnan alluded to the epoch of his having become an inhabitant of Hy, "per annos 34 *insulanus miles*;" Bede to that of his preaching to the Picts. It may be objected, that Bede mentions the foundation of Hy, but does not place it before 565. To this I answer, that Bede was mistaken as to the time of that establishment (See *Not. 146.*) and, it would seem so much so, that, according to his making it follow the conversion of the Picts, it should be placed even later than 565. For it is not easy to imagine, that said conversion could have been completed within the very year in which he began to announce to them the word of God.

(150) See *Not. proc.* Adamnan introduces Columba as holding a conversation in *Britain* with king Conall at the time of the battle of Moinmor, that is, in the year 563, between the Northern Nialls and the Irish Picts, in which the latter were defeated with great loss. (See Adamnan *L.* 1. c. 7. and Colgan's notes.) Hence it appears, that Columba paid a visit to Conall, not long after his arrival at Hy.

(151) Bede (*L.* 3. c. 4.) after stating, that Columba came to preach to the Northern Picts, adds; "*hec est, eis qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati.*" As to the Southern Picts, he tells us that they had been converted long before by Nynia or Ninian. From the time of the arrival of the Scots the Southern Picts inhabited only an eastern part of Scotland between the Frith of Forth and those mountains mentioned by Bede. (See *Not.* 149 to *Chap.* 1.) The territories occupied by the Scots in the West lay between the Frith of Clyde and the western part of said range, by which they were separated from the country of the Northern Picts, as Adamnam informs us, (*L.* 2. c. 4.) where, having made mention of these Picts and the Scots of Britain, he says; "*inter quos utroque Dorsi montes Britannici disternunt.*" By *Dorsum Britannicum* or *Drum Albán* was meant the highest part of the Grampian mountains. (See Buchanan *Rer. Scot. &c.* *L.* 1. p. 18. *Elzivir ed.*)

(152) Hector Boethius, not wishing to acknowledge that a great part of Scotland was until then immersed in Paganism, introduces Columba as merely reclaiming king Brudeus and his subjects from the Pelagian heresy. He lays the scene of his exertions in Lothian. But, as Usher observes (p. 692), Lothian did not at that time belong to the Picts, but to the Britons and Anglo-Saxons; and it is evident from Bede and Adamnam, that the conversion of Brudeus was not from heresy but idolatry. To this purpose Usher quotes (p. 686.) from a Scottish breviary, part of an office of St. Columba, in which we read;

"Per quem (Columbam) idonea vitæ primordiis
Rex gentis accepit Pictiniae."

(153) Smith (*Life*, &c. p. 18.) says that Brude reigned at Inverness. Pinkerton says (*Modern Geography*, Vol. 1. p. 152) that the Caledonian kings, when converted to Christianity, chiefly

resided there. Yet it is probable that Brude's castle, which was certainly near the river Ness, was not so far from the lake as Inverness is. (See Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 34.*) Pinkerton in his map of Caledonia places it close to the N. E. end of the lake, near where the river begins to flow out of it.

(154) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 35.*

(155) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 33.*) calls this *magus* Broichean the king's tutor, *nutricius*; and (*ib. c. 34.*) mentions his attempting to excite a storm in opposition to Columba.

(156) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 37.*

(157) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 32.* Cumineus also has recorded this miracle. He writes; (*cap. 22.*) " Post genuflexionem quoque et orationem surgens, in nomine Domini mortuum cuiusdam plebei filium suscitavit, et post celebratas exequias patri et matri reddidit." The boy's father is here said to have been a plebeian, and so he is called by Adamnan, who observes that he heard the word of life by means of an interpreter or expounder, on the preaching of Columba; *per interpretatorem, sancto prædicante viro.* From this passage it has been deduced, that said man did not understand the language in which Columba preached; if so, he must have been a foreigner, or so illiterate as not to understand the language of his own country, in the same manner as there are in all countries persons, who, being accustomed to some barbarous dialect or jargon, know so little of the correct manner of speaking, that it appears to them a sort of foreign tongue. It is not to be supposed, that Columba would have preached to the Picts in any other language than their own; and, without inquiring into whatsoever affinity there might have been between that and the Irish, it is sufficient to observe, that he might have learned it even before he went to Hy, as there was a colony of Picts settled in the North of Ireland long prior to that period. (See *Chap. III. §. 3.* and *ib. Not. 25.*) Yet the words of Adamnan can, I think, be well explained without recurring to any question as to difference of language or dialect. His meaning probably was that, as said man was of an inferior rank and uneducated, he was instructed by a better informed person, or, as we may call him, a catechist, in the nature of the mysteries and truths announced by Columba in his sermons. *Interpreter, or interpres*, is more ge-

nerally used to signify an expounder of difficulties than an explainer or translator of words.

§. XIV. It cannot be doubted that St. Columba's exertions were attended with great success, and that he erected some churches and religious houses in that country even during the time of his first preaching there. But it is very probable, that he did not then remain until the conversion of the whole nation was completed. For we find that he visited those parts more than once, (158) and it appears that there were *magi* and Pagans still remaining in the times of some of his later excursions through the Pictish territories. (159) Yet we may be assured, that he left spiritual instructors to provide for the religious wants of the new converts, and to propagate the Christian faith during the times of his occasional absence. Who they were is very imperfectly recorded, so that, although two or three of them may be guessed at, an exact account of them is not to be expected. (160) In the same obscurity is involved the history of the churches and ecclesiastical institutions first established in the newly converted provinces. It will be easily admitted that a church existed, from an early time of Columba's mission, at the King's residence; but, although we find a great number of religious establishments, both in that country and in other parts of Scotland, called by his name or those of his disciples, yet the precise period at which the more ancient of them were formed, cannot, as far as I know, be ascertained. (161) It is said that he penetrated even into the Orkney islands and formed cells in them. (162) The history of St. Columba's proceedings in the Hebrides or Western Islands is better known. With indefatigable zeal he visited them frequently, preaching the Gospel, supplying them with religious teachers, erecting churches, and forming religious communities. The names of several of the islands, which were blessed with his ex-

ertions, are particularly mentioned. Hinba or Hymba, where he founded a monastery, over which after some years he placed his maternal uncle Ernan, (163) seems to have been a favourite retreat of Columba. We find him there on various occasions and at different periods. He was in this island, when visited by four holy founders of monasteries in Ireland, Comgall, Cainnech, Breidan of Clonfert, (164) and Cormac Hua-Liathain; and when, while celebrating Mass at their request, and in their presence, Brendan saw a very bright flame, like a burning pillar, as if rising from his head, which continued from the time of the consecration until the termination of the sacred mysteries. (165) It was there also that on another occasion he had some extraordinary visions and visitations from heaven, which lasted for three days and three nights. (166) There were several monasteries founded by himself, or, in virtue of his orders, by his disciples, in an island called Ethica, (167) one of which was governed by Baithen, (168) who afterwards succeeded him as abbot of Hy. Another monastery in Ethica, at a place called *Artchain*, was founded by a priest Findchan, with whom St. Columba was once highly displeased for his having concurred in raising to the priesthood Aidus, surnamed the *black*, of the royal blood of the Irish Cruthens or Picts, a sanguinary man, who had killed, besides others, Diermit monarch of Ireland. (169) Lugneus Mocumin, one of his disciples, was placed over a monastery in Elena, which seems to have existed before he became superior of it. (170) That St. Columba formed some, or perhaps more than one establishment in the isle of Skey, is very probable, whereas it is related that he spent some time there, attended by others (171). We may be sure that he had no other motive for visiting Skey than the good of religion, in which case it will not be denied that he erected, at least, a church in that island. Nor can it be questioned, that monasteries

or churches were established, before his death, in many others of those islands, although the names of them happen not to be particularly mentioned by his biographers. (172) While St. Columba was thus engaged in converting and civilizing the inhabitants of the isles, he was at times obliged to struggle in their defence against certain desperadoes, calling themselves Christians, who made a trade of plundering them. (173) Having excommunicated some of the ringleaders, who were members of the royal family of the British Scots, (174) one of their adherents, determined on putting him to death, rushed against him with a spear, but providentially without effect. (175)

(158) This is clear from several passages in Adamnan. Thus (*L. 2. c. 35.*) he mentions the *first* journey of the saint to the residence of king Brude; in *prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum*. His calling it the *first* shows that others took place afterwards. He speaks of the saint as at *another time* travelling across Drum-albin, on which occasion young Finten fell sick. (See *Not. 123.*) In one place (*L. 2. c. 27.*) he introduces the saint as spending some months in the Pictish country, *Pictorum provincia*; in another (*ib. c. 32*) as spending there only some days.

(159) The conversion of the plebean and his family (*Not. 157*) occurred during a visitation different from that, which lasted some months (*Not. 158*), and during which a miracle was performed by the saint, on which some barbarous *gentiles*, who were present at it, were forced to acknowledge the greatness of the God of the Christians. Hence we see that Paganism was not quite extirpated in the time of his first mission. Some other instances might be added, if necessary. Accordingly what Bede says (*L. 3. c. 4.*) of the Pictish (Northern) nation having been converted by Columba must, if applied to the great body of the people, be understood as the effect not of one mission but of several of his, together with, during the intervals, the cooperation of his disciples.

(160) We have already seen (*Not.* 123.) that Finten, on one occasion, accompanied St. Columba to Pictland. Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 27.) makes mention of Lugneus Mocumin as having been also with him in that country. But he tells us (*ib.* c. 18.) that Lugneus when old, became superior of a monastery in the island called *Elena*, the same, I suppose, as Elen-ree, an island belonging to the shire of Argyle. If we are to believe O'Donnel (*L.* 3. c. 26.) one Mochonna, whom he represents as the son of an Irish king, became, by Columba's directions, a bishop among the Picts. Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* p. 452.) that a St. Mochonna's festival was kept on the 19th of May at Kill-chomharta, which, as no place of that name is to be found in Ireland, he thinks was in Pictland. It was probably the same as Cromarty. Chalmers (*Caledon.* Vol. 1. p. 322.) connects with the saint's mission in said country an account of the first bishop of Abernethy, who, he says, was Ternanus or Terrenanus, whose festival was held on the 12th of June. If this be true, we may fairly conclude that Ternanus was the same as Thoranau Mocufir mentioned above. (*Not.* 148.) But what has Abernethy to do with the conversion of the Northern Picts? That place was in the country of the Southern Picts, being situated in Stratherne, a part of Perthshire. They were Christians long before the mission of St. Columba. Some older Scottish writers call the first bishop at Abernethy *Tervanus*, and pretend that he was appointed by Palladius before the middle of the 5th century. (See Usher, p. 673.) Yet in the *Scotichronicon* quoted by Usher (p. 712.) the foundation of the church of Abernethy is attributed to the Pictish king Garnard successor of the Brude, in whose reign Columba came to Britain. Was Abernethy comprized within Brude's kingdom, although situated in the country of the Southern Picts? It is called in the said *Scotichronicon* the capital both civil and ecclesiastical of the whole kingdom of the Picts, notwithstanding our having seen (*Not.* 153.) that Brude's residence was far to the Northward near the river Ness. Some places more southerly than even Abernethy were subject to Brude. (See below *Not.* 162.) Leaving the illustration of this matter to the Scottish antiquaries, I shall merely observe that the circumstance of Ternanus' festival having been kept on the 12th of June favours the account given by Chalmers of the origin of the see of Abernethy. For on that

very day was revered at Bangor and Drumcliffe, a St. Terennanus or Torannanus, who is said to have been a disciple of St. Columba (See *Not.* 114.) and whom Colgan conjectures (*Tr. Th.* p. 492) to have been the same as Thorannu Mocufir. Hence it appears exceedingly probable, that the first bishop of Abernethy was this disciple of our saint. There might have been Christians in that place before Columba's time; but it does not follow that it was an episcopal see; and it is known that he superintended the ecclesiastical affairs, not only of such parts of Scotland as he and his disciples had rescued from idolatry, but also of other tracts in that country, where Christianity had been already introduced.

(161) Chalmers reckons (*Vol.* 1. p. 320.) several of those churches bearing the name of Columb-kill. We have just seen what may be thought concerning the see of Abernethy. Some writers have attributed to him the foundation of a monastery at Dunkeld in the territory of the Southern Picts. But, according to more correct accounts, (Usher, p. 713.) the church of Dunkeld was not erected until near 27 years after that of Abernethy, which did not exist prior to the death of Brude in 584 (Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) or 586 as marked by Innes and Chalmers. Hence it appears that said foundation at Dunkeld must be placed several years after the death of Columba. It was certainly directed to a St. Columba, who as Usher thinks, (p. 705.) was not Columb-kill, but a Columba, the first bishop of Dunkeld, who flourished towards the middle of the seventh century. As I have touched on these subjects, I may be allowed to mention two other establishments, still more distant than Abernethy or Dunkeld from North Pictland, which Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 495.) reckens among those of our saints, and for which he refers to Fordon's history of Scotland. The first is a monastery at Govan on the Clyde, attributed by Fordon not to Columba himself, but to Constantine a king of Cornwall, who, he says, came to Scotland with Columba, and preaching in Kentyre, converted all the inhabitants, and there suffered martyrdom. The latter part of this statement is, at least, very doubtful. The people of Kentyre were Christians long before Columba went to Hy. This Constantine is said to have been that once wicked king, whom Gildas has so severely scourged, and is treated of by Usher, p. 540 to 541.

Colgan has (at xi. *Mart.*) patched up a sort of Acts of his, and refers to Irish martyrologies, in which a British king Constantine is said to have retired to Ireland and to have placed himself under St. Carthagh Mochudda at Rathen (in Westmeath) where he afterwards became abbot and died. If so, he must have been alive after the year 630 or thereabouts, when Carthagh left Rathen. How then could he have been the Constantine of Gildas, who was king of Cornwall in 543? (See *Not.* 168 to *Chap.* ix.) Usher thought he was king there as late as 564, in consequence of his erroneous hypothesis in assigning to that year Gildas's Querulous epistle. Hence he argued (*Ind. Chron.* ad A. 590) that Constantine could not have accompanied Columba in his first departure from Ireland, but in what he calls the second. Yet, although this argument falls to the ground, and there is nothing to show that Constantine might not have ceased to be a king before 563, in which Columba first left Ireland, it is very extraordinary that neither Adamnan, Cumineus, O'Donnel, nor any Irish writer, who has recorded our saint's transactions, make any mention of his having been accompanied by this king, or of his having had him as a disciple. His name does not appear in the list of the twelve first companions. I strongly suspect that the account of this ex-king and martyr is merely a garbled alteration of the history of a king Constantine of the fifth century, mentioned by Buchanan (*L. 5. R. 43.*) and other Scotch writers, and whom, instead of *Scottish*, they should have called a *British* king, who, they tell us, was killed, not for religion but for a very different cause. Next after the monastery at Govan Colgan has another in an island of the Frith of Forth, anciently called *Aemonia* and in Fordon's time *Saint Colmy's inche*. (See Usher, p. 704.) Fordon says that Columba lived there for some time, but does not speak of a monastery founded by him. He tells us that there was in said island a monastery of Canons Regular, which, as Chalmers states, (*Caledon. Vol. 1. p. 320.*) was erected by Alexander I. in the year 1123, and dedicated to St. Columba. From this dedication most probably is derived its name of *Inch-Colm* or Columba's island, and hence, I dare say, the supposition of its having been inhabited by him.

(162) Chalmers, *ib.* Vol. 1. p. 331. This is very probable, as much intercourse was kept up between those islands and

North Pictland. If Columba or his disciples preached there, it must have been after what Adamnan relates (*L. 2. c. 42.*) concerning Brude having, at his request, recommended St. Cormac Hua Liethain to the protection of the prince of the Orkneys, in case, during a northern voyage of his, he should arrive in any of them, (as the saint foresaw that he would.) That prince was then at Brude's court, and was present while Columba was making said request. Were he a Christian, there would have been no necessity for the mediation of Brude, as the saint could have directly applied to him, and would certainly have obtained what he wished for. Cormac in fact landed somewhere in the Orkneys, and was, through that timely recommendation, preserved from being put to death. This shows that the inhabitants were not then Christians, but pagans, as O'Donnel calls them, *L. 2. c. 62.* where he relates this transaction. And hence we may judge, what opinion is to be formed of the stories of some Scotch writers about Servanus having converted that people before the middle of the fifth century, and his pretended appointment to the bishoprick of the Orkneys by Palladius. (See Usher, *p. 672. seqq.*) To mend the matter, we are told, that Servanus was the master of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, who is stated to have been still alive during the pontificate of Gregory the great, that is, about 160 years after Servanus was a bishop. If he preached in the Orkneys, we may be certain that his mission there did not commence until after Columba had undertaken the conversion of the Picts. That there were Irish missionaries in the Orkneys at a period later than that, which we are now treating of, will be seen hereafter. It is very probable that Servanus was a disciple of Columba. According to the register of St. Andrews, Brude, king of the Picts, made him a grant of the island in Loch-Leven in Kinross-shire. (Chalmers, *Vol. 1. p. 437.*) If so, he was contemporary with Columba, and was, perhaps, the same as Silvanus or Sillanus, a well known disciple of his.

(163) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 45.* We have seen that Ernan was one of Columba's 12 companions. Pinkerton says (*Not. to Cumineus, cap. 5.*) that he was not able to discover, by what name Hymba is called at present. I also have sought for it, but hitherto without being able to come to a decision. Might it be the same as Cannay, near the harbour of which is a rock called *Humbly*?

rather the small but fertile island Mernoca, as Buchanan calls it, *al.* Inch-Marnock, near the Western coast of Bute? Its name signifies the *island of Mernoc*. Now *Mernoc* is the same name as *Ernan*, just as *Maidoc* is the same as *Aidan*. The old name *Humba* might have been changed into *Eran's isle*. Add, that there was a Columbian house in *Mernoca*.

(164) See *Not.* 118 to *Chap.* x.

(165) Adaman, *L.* 3. c. 17. Cumineus, *cap.* 12. This phenomenon is erroneously said by O'Donnel (*L.* 1. c. 67.) to have occurred at Swords, although Columba had no authority there. (See above, *Not.* 109.) He led astray Burke, who in the office of St. Columba mentions Swords as the place where it was seen.

(166) Adamnan, *L.* 3. c. 18. Cumineus, *cap.* 13.

(167) Ethica is called an island by Adamnan, *L.* 1. c. 19. Elsewhere he makes mention of it more than once under the name of *Ethica terra*. That it was not very small appears from its having been furnished with divers monasteries. (*L.* 3. c. 8.) Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 377.) doubted whether it might not be the *Hethlandia* of Buchanan, *i. e.* the largest of the Shetland islands. But, besides there being no reason to suppose that Columba ever proceeded as far as Shetland, the distance of Ethica from Hy was by no means as great as that of any of those islands. We find from Adamnan, (*L.* 2. c. 15.) that Baithen having set out early in the morning from Hy, arrived, with the help of a fine southerly breeze, at the third hour, or 9 o'clock A. M. of said day, in the harbour of Campus Lunge in Ethica. Pinkerton says (*Not.* to *L.* 2. c. 14.) that Ethica was perhaps the island now called *Lewis*. But how could Baithen sailing from Hy have reached Lewis as early as 9 A. M.? They are, at least, 90 miles asunder. Ethica, or according to the Irish pronunciation, *Ehica*, was no other, I believe, than Eig or Egg, an island about 36 miles to the north of Hy, and 6 miles long by two in breadth. Adamnan has indeed an island *Egea*, *L.* 3. c. 18. But his saying that Baithen was detained there by contrary winds seems to point to Ethica, which a late transcriber might have changed into Eig.

(168) See Adamnan, *L.* 2. c. 15. and *L.* 3. c. 8. Baithen's monastery was near the sea at what Adamnan calls *Campus Lunge*. Smith (*Life*, &c. p. 151) calls it Achaluig in Ethica.

(169) Adamnan, *L.* 1. c. 36. Aidus is called by the 4 Masters

king of Dalaradia. See *AA. SS.* at xi. *Mart.* where Colgan treats of Findchan. Adamnan does not make him a king, but states that, after having killed Diermit, he spent some years in Findchan's monastery. Then wishing to become a priest he applied to a bishop, who refused to ordain him, unless authorized by the approbation of Findchan, which the latter had the imprudence and weakness to give, testifying it by placing his right hand on the head of Aidus. Columba, on being informed of this transaction condemned it as highly uncanonical, as if a man, who had murdered the king of Ireland, could be admitted to holy orders, and declared that Aidus was a son of perdition and would be snatched away by a violent death in the midst of his crimes. As to Findchan he foretold that the hand, which he had made so improper a use of, would rot and fall off, but that he would survive the loss of it. What will those who abet the fable of Columba's exciting a war against Diermit, say of this transaction? Will they venture to assert, that he would not have scrupled to contribute to the death of that monarch, while he was fired with such indignation against the man who actually killed him?

(170) See *Not.* 160.

(171) We read in Adamnan; (*L. 1. c. 93.*) "*Cum per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scia vir beatus—ad comites sic ait, &c.*" Messingham's edition, (*L. 1. c. 12.*) instead of *Scia* has *Scotia*. This is a mistake, as appears not only from *Scia* being the reading also of Pinkerton's copy, but likewise from the circumstance of Adamnan's, although he usually called Ireland *Scotia*, never adding to it *insula*, in the same manner as he does not to *Britannia*. For, notwithstanding their being both islands, they were too well known to require the addition of that epithet, besides their having been considered as a sort of continent in comparison with the Western isles. In said chapter of Messingham's edition, some lines lower down, a transaction is spoken of as having occurred in the *above mentioned district of Scotia*. But the account of it is here quite misplaced. The words *above mentioned, &c.* have no connection with the *Scotia* (that is, *Scia*) higher up in that chapter. They refer to the 98th chapter of said book, in which Adamnan, after relating various occurrences, which are omitted in Messingham's ed. says, that St. Columba was on a certain occasion in Ireland, &c. and then (*cap. 40.*) has the words, *above mentioned, &c.*

when proceeding to give an account of said transaction, which, as he informs us, took place in a monastery (not a Columbian one) at Trioit, now Trevet in the county of Meath. Hence it appears, that this monastery was very ancient, which Archdall ought to have remarked. Adamnan speaks elsewhere (*L. 2. c. 26.*) of Columba as having passed some considerable time in *Scia* with some brethren.

(172) The establishments formed by St. Columba, or his disciples, are, with the exception of Hy, mentioned only occasionally by Adamnan, &c. according as some remarkable circumstances occurred in them or to persons connected with them; so that, were it not for such circumstances, the origin of the greatest part even of those, which are known, would be still involved in darkness. Many churches in the Western isles were named from our saint; (Chalmers, *Vol. 1. p. 320.*) but the name alone is not a sufficient criterion for deciding at what time they were erected.

(173) Adamnan relates (*L. 2. c. 22.*) that one Joan or John of the royal family of Gauran, and consequently of the British Scots, having twice plundered the house of a Columbanus, for whom the saint entertained great friendship, attacked it a third time and carrying off much booty was met near his ship by St. Columba, who requested of him not to take it away. Despising the saint's remonstrances he set sail, but was soon after on the very same day overtaken by a violent gust from the North, which sank the vessel in the sea, so that both he and all his followers were drowned, as Columba had announced would be the case. Adamnan states, that the vessel was lost between Mull and Colossa (Colonsay) whence it might seem that Columbanus lived in some one of the islands West of Mull, whereas we may naturally suppose that John lived in the mainland of Scotland, and was perhaps directing his course thither when he was plunged into the ocean. Yet we must observe that the harbour, whence John sailed with his booty, is called by Adamnan *Aith-chambas-art-muirchol*. Smith (*Life, &c. p. 68.*) calls it Camus in Ardnamurchan (in Argyle). If he be right, Columbanus was not an islander, and St. Columba was then in Scotland. But John was proceeding on a piratical excursion through the islands; for Adamnan writes that the saint announced that he would not arrive at the other lands, which he meant to plunder, "*ad alias, quos appetit, terras;*" by which must be

understood some of the islands. Smith, through his aversion to miracles and prophecies, has most shamefully misrepresented Adamnan's meaning in the sequel of his narrative. He introduces Columba as pointing out, *at the time of John's departure*, a dark cloud forming in the North and fraught with destruction to him. Then he adds; "The cloud spread—the storm arose—sunk a boat, which no doubt the greed of plunder had too deeply loaded." Now Adamnan expressly states, that, when John set sail, and for some after, there was not a cloud to be seen, *die serenissimo*, but that, as the saint foretold, a northern cloud arose all of a sudden, whence proceeds the fatal blast, while all around the sea remained quite unruffled. Nor was it a mere boat, that John had. Adamnan calls it *navis*. When he mentions boats, he uses other words, *ex. e. navicula* (*L. 1. c. 34.*) or *cymba*; (*L. 2. 34.*) nor was John's vessel overloaded, as in such a case he would not have ventured to sail in search of further plunder. Add that Adamnan's object was to relate a miracle connected with prophecy. Such writers as Smith would do better not to touch on transactions, in which supernatural agency is said to have occurred, than to endeavour to corrupt the plain meaning of the authors, whom they pretend to follow.

(174) They were brothers of John, who also seems to have been comprized in the excommunication. That they were Christians is plain not only from their having belonged to the royal family, but likewise from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, which necessarily presupposed their having been considered as members of the church. Adamnan calls them *Ecclesiarum persecutores*, that is, persecutors of the congregations formed by Columba, and which with apostolical courage and impartiality he protected against those marauders, notwithstanding their high birth and their being kinsmen of his. This excommunication must have been prior to John's death, if, as appears probable, Adamnan meant to include him in the number of the persons, against whom that sentence was passed.

(175) Adamnan says (*L. 2. c. 24.*) that the name of the assassin was *Lam-dess*, that is, *Right hand*, and that, on his advancing against Columba, Findulgan a monk of Hinba, where this transaction occurred, putting on an outer garment of the saint, threw himself between him and *Lam-dess*, who, notwithstanding all his

might, was not able to drive his spear through it. Smith, not wishing to admit any thing extraordinary in the business, transforms (*Life*, &c. p. 14.) that garment into a thick leathern jacket; for so he is pleased to interpret the word, *cuculla*, used by Adamnan. Where did he find this new meaning for *cuculla*, or *cucullus*, as it is more classically written? Had he looked into Ducange, he would have discovered that the *cuculla* of the monks was a wide sort of mantle sometimes longer, so as to reach the knees, or even the feet, and sometimes shorter, merely covering the head and shoulders, and which they used to wear, when they appeared in public. Without going to Catholic countries where they are still worn, he might have seen various forms of the *cuculla* in several books of easy access, in which the monastic dresses are described and represented. But he never would have met with such an odd fashioned one as a *leathern jacket*. If the worthy Findlughan had waited to fasten on a jacket, he would not have been ready in time to shield Columba against the charge made by Lamdess. This faithful disciple was, according to Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 483.) brother to St. Fintan of Dunbleisique (in the now barony of Coonagh in the county of Limerick) and accordingly of a family of a district in said county, anciently called *Ara-cliach*. See below *Chap. XII.* §. 12.

§. XV. The apostolical labours of St. Columba were not confined to the Pictish territories and the Western isles. He superintended also the ecclesiastical affairs of the British Scots, and formed some religious establishments in their kingdom. One of them near Loch-awe in Argyle was governed by a monk of his institution named Cailten. (176) The saint was wont to visit various parts of that country, and it was on an occasion of his being in the Southern parts of it that he called upon St. Kentigern, bishop of Glasgow, with whom he spent a few days. (177) Nor is it improbable, that he visited even some parts of N. Britain then possessed by the Anglo-Saxons. There were Christians of that nation in Hy before his death, who had in all probability been converted either by himself or his disciples. (178) Meanwhile

he did not neglect to keep a watchful eye over the monasteries of his institution not only in Scotland and the isles, but likewise those which he had formed in Ireland, (179) whither he often sent messengers on business relative to his establishments, or to various ecclesiastical and pious objects, (180) and occasionally repaired in person when matters of importance required his appearing there. (181) He was frequently visited by persons from Ireland, who were either former friends of his or came to consult him on various subjects. (182) These and all other strangers, no matter of what state or condition, he received with the greatest kindness, and entertained with the most becoming hospitality. (183) That Columba was held in the highest veneration as well by the clergy and people as by the sovereigns of his time, both Pictish and Scottish, whether in Ireland or Britain, is too well known to require any detail on this subject. A very remarkable instance of it occurs in his having been the person applied to for inaugurating, or, as his biographers express it, ordaining Aidan as king of the British Scots after the death of Conal. (184) The saint was unwilling to inaugurate him, as he would have been better pleased that Eogenan, or Eugene, Aidan's brother, were raised to the throne; but being repeatedly commanded in nocturnal visions to inaugurate Aidan, he consented to do so, and, on that prince's arriving in Hy, performed the ceremony. (185) Thenceforth Columba became much attached to Aidan; (186) and it was chiefly on his account, and for the purpose of adjusting some differences between him and Aidus king of Ireland, that he attended the assembly of Drumceat, of which we shall treat hereafter, it being now full time to see how ecclesiastical matters were going on at home during his absence.

(176) Adaman, *L. 1. c. 31*. Cailten died at Hy, having been sent for by Columba, who knowing that Cailten's end was near at

hand wished to give him his blessing, so that he might terminate his life in the spirit of true monastic obedience. His monastery was afterwards called Kill-Diuni from Diuni a brother of Cailten, who seems to have been his immediate successor. As to the many other religious houses in the old Scottish provinces or kingdom, bearing the name of Columba or his disciples, I am not able to ascertain their respective degrees of antiquity.

(177) Life of Kentigern, *cap.* 39. The place, where he was visited by Columba, is called *Mellindonar*. Pinkerton observes that a stream, called *Molendinar*, flows through Glasgow. Hector Boethius has a story about Kentigern having been present on an occasion of Columba's discoursing on religion before king Brude. (See Usher, *p.* 704.)

(178) Two of those Christian Saxons, or Anglo-Saxons, are mentioned by Adamnan. The first was Genereus, a baker, whom he calls (*L. 3. c. 10*) a *religious brother*. In Colgan's edition instead of *pistor* we find *pictor*, as if Genereus were a painter. The genuine reading is, I believe, *pistor*; whereas Adamnan expresses his occupation in Hy by the word, *opus*. Had he been a painter, he would have said *artem*. Smith (*Life, &c. p.* 115.) makes two persons out of Genereus, or as he calls him, Gueren the baker, one of whom is simply Gueren, and the other a Saxon baker in general. He is equally inaccurate in stating that the editions of Adamnan published by the Catholics have *pictor*, as if designed to indicate that there were images in Hy. This is a very unfounded insinuation; for O'Donnell, who lived before any disputes existed in our countries concerning image-worship, had read in his copy *pictor*. (See O'Donnell *L. 2. c. 26.*) Next it is to be observed, that there are, at least, two editions by Catholics, those of Canisius and Messingham, which have (according to their division of chapters *L. 3. c. 7.*) *pistor*, and express the employment of Genereus by *opus pistorum*. The other Saxon, who is mentioned as being in Hy, (*L. 3. c. 22.*) was called *Pīlu*. These converts were not indebted for their faith to Augustin or the other Roman missionaries, who had not as yet arrived in G. Britain, nor to British preachers, whereas the Britons, as Gildas and Bede have complained, added to their other crimes the horrid sin of neglecting to announce the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. (See Bede *Hist. Eccl. L. 2. c. 22.* and *L. 5. s. 23.*) On the contrary the Irish clergy and monks

undertook that duty as soon as a fit opportunity occurred, and have been on that account often praised by Bede. It can scarcely be doubted, that they were the instruments used by the Almighty for the conversion of those early Anglo-Saxon Christians in Columba's time; and that, with regard to a part of that nation, they got the start of the Roman missionaries in the blessed work of bringing them over to the Christian faith.

(179) Adamnan has (*L. 1. c. 29.*) a very interesting anecdote relative to Columba's tenderness and affection for his monks at Durrough, at a time that during his absence they were governed by Laisran.

(180) Trenan, one of St. Columba's monks, is mentioned (Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 18*) as having been sent by him with some message to Ireland. Colgan says (*AA. SS. p. 726.*) that this Trenan was revered in the church of Kill-daen on the 23d of March. Archdall has a Kildallan in the county of Cavan. But the person, whom Columba principally employed on these occasions, seems to have been Lugaid Laithir, who is called by Adamnan the saint's Legate. (See above *Not. 117.*) Besides the occasion of his going to Ireland with some dispatches or orders, on which Adamnan gives him that title, we find that at another time he was directed to sail thither in all haste and to proceed to Clogher for the purpose of relieving the holy virgin Maugina, one of whose hips had been broken in consequence of a fall on her returning from mass. Lugaid was bearer of a small box containing a benediction, which on his arrival at Clogher he was to dip in some water, which, when thus blessed, should be poured upon the broken part, and, joined with the invocation of the name of God, would effectually heal the fracture, as, says Adamnan, (*L. 2. c. 5.*) it instantly did.

(181) It is generally supposed that St. Columba after his first departure in 563 did not return to Ireland until 590, the year, in which was held the great meeting of Drumceat. This is most probably a mistake founded on the fable of his having been condemned to a sort of perpetual-exile (See §. 12.) O'Donnel having swallowed that trash, exhibits (*L. 3. c. 1.*) the saint as constantly remaining out of his own country until he was invited to attend at said meeting. Now Adamnan, a vastly better authority, gives us plainly to understand, that during the intermediate period between the years now mentioned Columba was to be met with in

Ireland, and probably on more than one occasion. For instance, he tells us, (*L. 2. c. 43. al. 18. See Not. 122.*) that the saint spent *some days* in Ireland arranging certain *ecclesiastical* affairs. Those days were not prior to his first departure; for, if so, Adamnan would not have used that manner of expressing himself, which evidently refers to a temporary visit. Nor were they at the time of the meeting of Drumceat. Besides that meeting having been not of an ecclesiastical but political nature, Adamnan, when relating any circumstance, that occurred while Columba was in Ireland on said occasion, usually makes express mention of it. Thus he has (*L. 1. c. 49.*) a conversation between him and Comgall after the *assembly of kings at Dorsum Cette* (Drumceat). He refers to it again in the following chapter, for the purpose of marking the precise period of a transactin which took place at Coleraine, and after which he mentions another similar one, that occurred on the saint's arrival at Killmore Deathreib (*See Not. 120. 121.*) And here arises a still stronger argument, particularly if connected with what O'Donnel has concerning the various parts of Ireland visited by Columba after the meeting of Drumceat. So many excursions would have required not *some days* but *some months*. And in fact Adamnan states, that Columba remained for *some months* at Durrough alone at a time, which must have been after said meeting. (*See Not. 97.*) Accordingly when Adamnan speaks of those temporary abodes or excursions of *some days* in Ireland, we cannot refer them all to the period of that assembly, that is, to A. D. 590. In another place (*L. c. 38.*) he has one of them expressed just as above, during which the saint was in the plain of Bregh, which as often observed, now forms a part of the counties of Meath and Dublin. Afterwards (*L. 2. c. 36.*) we read that, being for *some days* in Ireland, "*aliquantibus in Scotia diebus conversatus*, he paid a visit to the monastery *Duorum agri rivorum*. (*See Not. 117.*) Who does not see, that so many excursions, which are represented as of short duration, do not belong to the time of the meeting of Drumceat? Some of them might have taken place during only one occasion of Columba's coming to Ireland; but it seem very probable, that he visited his native country more than once between the years 563 and 590. As to his returning to it again after the latter year, I find no reason to think that he did.

(182) St. Cainnech or Canice, *al.* Kenny of Aghaboe, besides the visit made together with Comgall and others, of which above, paid him another, which is mentioned by Adamnan, (*L.* 1. c. 4.) after a prosperous passage notwithstanding the weather being very stormy. Cainnech was very much attached to Columba, and we find him praying at Aghaboe for the safety of him and some of his companions when on sea during a violent storm, having known by a revelation, as Adamnan relates (*L.* 2. c. 13.) and not by a sort of conjecture, as Smith strives (*Life, &c.* p. 41.) to make the reader believe, that their situation was very perilous. This author has mangled, as usual, almost the whole account of this transaction, as any one may see on collating his statement with the text of Adamnan. If he did not like revelations, why touch upon circumstances connected with them? In Pinkerton's edition it is said, that the part of the sea, in which Columba was at that time, was the gulf of Coire *vrecaín* or *brecain*. Smith tells us (*p.* 43) that Coire-brecain lies between Jura and Craignish. Now it is well known, that it is no other than the gulf connected with Lough Foyle (See *Tr. Th.* p. 374), and extending eastward towards the island of Rachlin near which Adamnan places it, *L.* 1. c. 5. where he calls it *Charybdis Brecaí*. Next he Scotticizes the name of Cainnech into Kenneth. But of St. Cainnech more hereafter. Another visitor of Columba was Columbanus, son of Beognai. Adamnan says that in the beginning of his voyage towards Hy he was in danger of being lost in the *Charybdis Brecaí*. He must not be confounded with another Columbanus surnamed *Mocu-Loigse*, whom Cumineus (*cap.* 8.) and Adamnan (*L.* 3. c. 12.) call a Leinster bishop. Mabillon in a note on Cumineus makes him bishop of *Lagena* in Lagenia or Leinster. There was no such town in Leinster, nor does the text of Cumineus point to any particular spot. His *Episcopus Lagenensis* means no more than that Columbanus was a bishop of the province of Leinster. Colgan says (*Tr. Th.* p. 325) that he was surnamed *Mocu-Loigse* from his being of the family of a prince Laigis, whence was derived the name of Leix, a large district of Leinster; and that he was bishop at a place called *Tu-lach-mac-comgail*, of which I wish he had told us how it was called in later times. St. Columba had a great friendship for this Columbanus, so that, being apprized by a revelation of his

death, he gave orders in the morning that the monks, who were preparing themselves for their respective occupations, should refrain from work on that day, and that some little addition should be made to their dinner, as he intended to celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist. When every thing was ready for divine service, they, being clothed in white garments as on a Sunday or other solemn day, proceeded to the church along with the saint. When the choir had come to a part of the service, in which the name of St. Martin used be commemorated, he cried out; " This day you must sing for the holy bishop Columbanus:" and thus they became informed of his death, (See Cumineus and Adamnan, *loc. cit.*) A similar attention was paid by Columba to the memory of his friend Brendan by the celebration of mass in commemoration of his death on a day on which it was not expected by the community; (Cumin. *cap.* 7. and Adamn. *L.* 3. c. 11.) for it appears, that divine service was not celebrated every day in the monastery of Hy.

Among the many persons who went from Ireland to see this great saint one Aidan is mentioned, (Adamn. *L.* 1. c. 26.) a very religious man, who had lived twelve years with St. Brendan of Clonfert. On the day before his arrival Columba said to the brethren; " We intend to fast to-morrow, as usual, because it will be Wednesday; but on account of a stranger, who will be with us, the fast will be broken." So great was his discretion, that, although the fast of Wednesday was universally observed not only by our monks, but likewise by the whole Irish people, and even as late as Colgan's time (*Tr. Th. p.* 377.) yet he did not scruple to give the necessary refreshment to a fatigued guest, without obliging him to wait until the hour prescribed for taking food on fast days. His conduct on such occasions was like that of St. Apollon of Thebais (Tillemont, *Tom. x. p.* 38.) As Aidan arriving on Wednesday in the morning, was allowed to break the fast, thus, adds Adamnan, the prophecy was fulfilled. I shall mention only one more of those visitors, Cronan, a Munster bishop, who being with the saint, through humility, did all he could to prevent its being known that he was a bishop. Columba, not having yet discovered that he was one, desired him on a Sunday to celebrate mass "*Christi corpus ex more conficere.*" He did so, and when come to the part of it, where the

consecrated host is broken, called on Columba to join him as a priest in breaking the Lord's bread, "*ut simul quasi duo presbyteri Dominicum panem frangerent.*" Columba then coming up to the altar, and looking him in the face, said; "Christ bless you brother; do you alone break it according to the episcopal rite; for now we know that you are a bishop. Why have you hitherto endeavoured to conceal yourself so as not to let us pay that veneration due to you by us?" (Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 44.*) This anecdote (which is omitted by Smith, while he gives us many others much less worthy of notice) is more than sufficient to show the falshood of the silly and unfounded hypothesis of some Presbyterian writers, particularly Scotch, who represent Columba and his monks, whom they most ignorantly call *Culdees*, as members of their sect, and not acknowledging any superiority, by divine right, of bishops over priests. Of this more elsewhere. Colgan treats of Cronan at 9th February, (*AA. SS.*) and states that he was of the Nandesi country (in co. Waterford), and that some old writers call him Cuaran or Mochuaroc. But what was Cronan's see he could not discover. He adds that he was son of one Nethemmon, and surnamed the *Wiss*. By the phrase, *episcopal rite*, an allusion is made, if I do not mistake, to the benediction, which used to be given by bishops exclusively, at least in most churches, after the breaking of the host, and before a part of it was put into the chalice. This benediction varied according to the various festivals, and the practice continued for many centuries, even as late as the pontificate of Leo X. (See Cardinal Boni, *Rer. Liturg. L. 2. c. 16.*)

(183) It would be an endless task to relate instances of the hospitable disposition of Columba, and of his beneficence to the poor. Of the latter a very singular trait is recorded by Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 41.* A thief, called Erc, had come over from Colonsay to Mull, where, having covered his boat with hay, he hid himself under it, with the intention of proceeding at night to a small island, where (seemingly in a sort of sea-water pond) sea-calves or seals were bred and reared, the property of the monastery, and of loading his boat with them after being killed. Before he could execute his plan, he was (the saint having pointed out the place of his concealment) taken and brought to him, who said; "Why do you, transgressing the divine commandment,

often steal what belongs to others? When you are in want, come to us, and on asking for it, you shall get what may be necessary." He then ordered a wether to be killed and given to the unfortunate man, lest he should return empty to his family. And foreseeing that Erc would not live long, some time after he gave directions to Baithen, who was then in Ethica, to send him a fat sheep and six bushels of corn, which, however, were not used by Erc, as he died suddenly on the day of their being brought to his habitation, but served for the celebration of his funeral obsequies.

(184) Aidan was son of Gauran, and consequently first cousin to Conal (See *Not.* 146.) He succeeded to the throne A. D. 574. (Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 473.)

(185) The whole transaction is related by Cumineus, *cap.* 5. and Adamnan *L.* 3. c. 5. Columba was in Hymba, when an Angel appeared to him during the night holding a book, which is called the *glass book of the ordination of kings*. Perhaps it was like a sheet of paper enclosed in glass, or its cover was encrusted with glass or crystal. The Angel ordered him to read it, and to ordain Aidan king, as commanded in said book. Columba refused to obey the order, in punishment of which the Angel struck his side as if with a whip, and left a mark, which remained during his whole life. He then told him that he must not doubt of his having been sent to him by the Almighty, and threatened to strike him again if he should persist in his disobedience. Having appeared to him in like manner the two following nights Columba went over to Hy, and there read over Aidan the words of inauguration and, placing his hand on his head, gave him his blessing. Martene says (*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, *L.* 2. c. 10.) that the inauguration of Aidan is the most ancient instance he had met with of the benediction or inauguration of kings in Christian times. From the mention made of the *book*, &c. it may probably be inferred, that this practice was still more ancient among the Irish and British Scots.

(186) Adamnan has recorded (*L.* 1. c. 8.) an instance of the saint's anxiety for the welfare and prosperity of Aidan. At a time when he was commencing a battle against some enemies of his kingdom, Columba, who was then in Hy, ordered his attendant Diermit to strike the bell. "*Cloccam pulsa;*" upon which

the monks hastened after him to the church. He then desired them to pray for Aidan and his people, and after some time announced that the barbarians were defeated, and that Aidan had gained a victory, yet not without great loss on his side. Adamnan calls this battle *bellum Miathorum*, perhaps from its having been fought in the country of the *Meatae*, a people of N. Britain (See *Not.* 149. to *Chap.* 1.) Usher thinks (*Ind. Chron.*) that it was the battle of Leithred, which, according to the Ulster Annals, Aidan fought against the Saxons, (Chalmers *Caledon.* Vol. 1. p. 282.) in the year 590. O'Flaherty (MS. note to *Tr. Th.* p. 341.) adds that it took place before Columba set out for the meeting of Drumceat. *Clocca* or *Clog* is frequently used by old Irish writers when speaking of bells. We find them mentioned at a very early period of our church history, *ex. c.* in the times of St. Senan and St. Brigid; and, if we are to follow the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L.* 1. c. 7.) they were known and made in Ireland even in his days.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Feidlimid archbishop of Armagh—Succeeded by Cairtan—St. Molaisse of Devenish—St. Sinach, bishop of Clonard—St. Muredach first bishop of Killalka—St. Aidus Bree—founds the monastery of Enachmicbrin—Consecrated bishop, and fixed his see at Killaroe—Eugene bishop of Ardstrath—Naithi, called Cruimthir Naithi—St. Feckin of Fore—St. Fachnan of Ross—Succession of various monarchs of Ireland—St. Caineach founds the monastery of Aghaboe—Eogin mac Laisre—Lugeus—Molua erects the monastery of Clonsfert—Molua—Drew up a rule for Monks—Church of Kill-da-lua or Killaloe—Cormac Hua Liathain—Colman of Cloyne—Lasrean or Molaisse of Devenish—St. Natalis—Barrindeus governed a monastery at Druimcuillin—St. Coeman—Comman—Conan-dil—Endeus—Berchanus—St. Mobhy Clairineach—St. Fintan of Clonenagh—Bishop Brandubh—Cormac prince of Leinster—Columbanus—Fintan of Dumbleische—Sinell of Cluain-inis—Nennidh-lamhdearg—Mogenoch—St. Carecha—St. Maugina—St. Columba goes to the assembly at Dromceat—Suppression of the order of Poets prevented by St. Columb, but reduced in their numbers—St. Colman decides that Dalriada should belong to the monarch of Ireland—St. Columb visits Derry, Durrrough, Clonmacnois and Coleraine—Has a vision and foretels the day of his death—Gives his benediction to his community and dies.

SECT. I.

THE archbishop of Armagh since the year 551 was Feidlimid Fionn, (1) concerning whom I find no-

thing recorded, except that he governed the see until 578, in which year he died either on the 30th of October or 20th of December. (2) He was succeeded by Cairlan, a native of Hy-Niellan in the now county of Armagh, and a holy man, who had, prior to his promotion, been for some time superior of a monastery somewhere in that country. (3) Cairlan held the see for ten years. (4) According to some accounts, St. Tigernach of Clogher had as immediate successor one Sinell, after whom several others are mentioned, as following in regular succession down to St. Laisrean or Molaise of Devenish, who died about 570, and who is pretended to have been bishop there. (5) Passing by these spurious documents, and not to enter into a detail concerning some bishops of the latter half of the sixth century, of whom as much as is known has been said already, (6) we find that St. Senach was bishop of Clonard in those times, having either been its first bishop or the immediate successor of St. Finnian. (7) Although he was one of the chief disciples of said Finnian, (8) yet scarcely any thing is recorded of him. He died in 588, on the 21st of August. (9) To the same period belonged Fergus bishop of Down, who died on the 30th of March in 584. (10) He was of a princely family, and founded, either before or after his promotion, a church at Killmbian. (11) It is very probable that Fergus was the first bishop of that see; for, as to Cailan or Coelan, whom some writers make his predecessor, there are no sufficient proofs to show that he was. (12) In those times must be placed also St. Muredach, who is usually called the first bishop of Killalla and has been erroneously supposed to have been appointed to that see by St. Patrick. (13) He was contemporary with Columb-kill, and is mentioned as one of the persons, who assembled at Eas dara or Ballysadare (co. Sligo) for the purpose of paying him their respects on occasion of his being in that place soon after the meet-

ing of Drumceat. (14) Muredach was of the royal house of Léogaire. No account remains of the time of his promotion or of his death. The 12th of August has been assigned for his festival, and it was in all appearance the day on which he died. (15)

(1) See *Chap. x. §. 14.*

(2) *Tr. Th. p. 293.* I do not know why Ware and Harris represent Feidhlimid as of a Hy-Niellan family. Colgan has not said so.

(3) *AA. SS. at Cairlan, 24 Mart.*

(4) *Ib. and Tr. Th. p. 293.* Ware had correctly stated that Feidhlimid died in 578 and Cairlan in 588. Harris comes forward, as usual, with some nonsense, as if Ware differed from the 4 Masters, who, instead of these dates, have 577 and 587. How stupid must he have been not to have discovered that such dates, although nominally differing by one year, were in reality the same as Ware's! He adds that the Psalter of Cashel also places Cairlin's death in 587; but had he looked into *Tr. Th. p. 292.* where said Psalter is quoted, he could have found that it does not mention the year of the Christian era, in which Cairlan or any archbishop of Armagh died. It merely states the number of years, during which each of them held the see, and gives ten to Cairlan.

(5) Ware (*Bishops at Clogher*) has, from the register of Clogher, after Sinell eight successors of his before we come to Laisrean. Now even supposing that Laisrean was bishop there, it cannot be believed that there were nine prelates of that see between Tigernach, who died in 549 (*Chap. x. §. 13.*) and the pretended accession of Laoisrean, which should have been prior to 570. What little confidence is to be placed in that register appears also from its making St. Enda of Arran bishop of Clogher after Laisrean, although he never was a bishop, and, as we have seen, died about 540. Then after three or four other prelates, as if succeeding Enda, it has by a most absurd anachronism, even Kieran of Clonmacnois!!! As if it were not universally known that Kieran died in 549. The compiler of that document, wishing to do honour to Clogher, did not scruple to reckon among its bishops the distinguished persons now mentioned, adding to them likewise the celebrated Adamnan, who, as

will be seen, never rose higher than to the rank of a priest. I am rather surprized that Ware gave himself the trouble of copying such trash. Colgan having searched for the successors of Maccarthen and Tigernach in that see does not mention any one of those now spoken of, and gives us only three of them between the latter and Foeldavar, who died in 731 (732). As to the particular times, in which those three prelates, viz. Liberius, Aitmetus, and Hermetius, held the see, he was not able to form an opinion. (See *AA. SS. p. 742.*) and Harris, *Bishops at Clogher.*

(6) *Ex. c. Moena Bishop at Clonfert (Not. 116 to Chap. x.); Dagaues (Chap. x. §. 14.); Lugidus (ib. Not. 196); Dallan, Sedna, and others (Chap. xi. §. 4); Etchen (ib. §. 9. and Not. 101-102); Columbanus Mocu-Loigse and Cronan (ib. Not 182.)*

(7) See *Not. 70, 71, to Chap. x.*

(8) Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.* Senach is there expressly called *bishop.*

(9) *AA. SS. p. 406.* Colgan has, from the 4 Masters, A. D. 587, which, however, was the same as our 588.

(10) Ware (*Bishops at Down*) quotes a passage of the Annals of Ulster, in which the death of Fergus is assigned to A. 583. The 4 Masters also have 583. (See Colgan *AA. SS. at 30 Mart.*) Considering the mode of computation followed by those Annalists down to about the eleventh century, that date is the same as 584. In both said Annals Down is, on this occasion, called by its ancient name *Druim-leith-glais*, for which several old writers use *Dun-da-leth-glas.*

(11) Annals *ib.* Colgan (*loc. cit.*) without being authorized by them, calls that church a monastery. Archdall, following him, gives us one of that name in the county of Down. It is natural to suppose, that Killmbian was in that country. But I find no reason for introducing a monastery there, unless we are to believe that every church, to the name of which *Kill* is prefixed, had one added to it. Now Colgan has heaps of names, so beginning of places, to which he assigns merely churches, while as to others with similar names he does not forget to mark such monasteries as were annexed to them.

(12) See *Chap. viii. §. 14.* Had there been any bishop of Down, prior to Fergus, it should seem odd, that he is the first

mentioned in both the Annals above referred to, and that, notwithstanding Colgan's frequently alluding to Down and naming several persons called Caillan, (See *ex. c. Ind. tert. ad Tr. Th.*) he has no bishop of that name in said see.

(19) See *Chap. v. §. 12.* Ware fell into this mistake, (*Bishops at Killala, and Antiq. cap. 29.*) and hence assigns Muredach to the 5th century. Harris, wishing to appear more accurate has added that he was promoted about A. D 440.

(14) Life of St. Farnnan at 15 February. It may be objected, that in said Life other persons are named as present at at Ballysadare, who certainly could not have been there at that time. But there are other convincing arguments to show, that Muredach did not live prior to St. Columba's time. We read in the Life of St. Cormac (26 March) that St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Columb-kill, St. Cannech, and St. Muredach bishop had blessed the port of Killala. Would Muredach have been placed so low down in the list, had he been contemporary with St. Patrick? Next it is evident from his pedigree, as given from old documents by Colgan. (*AA. SS. p. 339.*) that he belonged to a much later period. In tracing his descent from Leogaire, king of Ireland, Muredach appears in the sixth generation.

(15) In the old Calendars it is marked as his *Natalis*, by which is meant the day of a saint's death.

§. II. Another holy bishop of that period, and whose history is much better known than that of the above mentioned prelates, was St. Aidus or Aedeus, as he is called in the catalogue of the second class of saints. (16) He is usually surnamed *son of Brec*, this being the name of his father, who was a descendant of Neill Neigilliach by his son Fiach. (17) His mother was a Munster lady of the country now called Lower Ormond (18) in the county of Tipperary. The time of his birth is not recorded; but it is probable that it was between 520 and 530. (19) Although Aidus seems to have been born in Meath his father's country, (20) he was, after being baptized, and from his infancy, reared among his mother's relatives in Munster and well educated as to the duties

of a Christian layman. Not having been intended for the ecclesiastical state, he did not apply in his younger days to the preparatory studies and course of learning necessary for it. On his father's death Aidus, being a grown up lad, went to Meath for the purpose of recovering a part of the inheritance, the whole of which his brothers had divided among themselves. Not succeeding in his endeavours he set out for Munster, and on his way thither passing near the monastery of the holy bishop Illandus (21) was taken notice of by him. The bishop sent him word that he would be glad to see him, and, on his coming up, asked him, why he was so uneasy about an earthly inheritance, and desired him to look for a vastly better one, that of heaven. Aidus answered, that he was ready to submit to whatever the holy man would direct him to do, and then became an inmate of the monastery, where with the duties of religious obedience he united the study of the Holy Scriptures and of literature. Notwithstanding his high rank he worked at the plough, when ordered to do so, and displayed in every respect such a truly monastic spirit, that after a certain lapse of time, Illandus thought it advisable that he should return to his mother's country and there form a monastery. Accordingly he repaired thither with some companions assigned to him and founded one at Enachmicrivin. (22) Some time after, but when we are not informed, he went to Meath and being there consecrated Bishop fixed his see at Killair or Killare. (23) After his promotion he visited Munster occasionally, and is said to have erected some other religious houses both in that province and in Meath. (24) A nunnery at a place, called Drumard, (25) is mentioned as having been favoured with a visit of his. He was on a certain occasion entertained by St. Riach abbot of Inishofinde in Loughree; (26) and we find him paying him a visit to Henan a holy hermit at Drumrath, (27) who, on the arrival of Aidus, had nothing to treat him with except

herbs and water. Without enlarging on some other matters of this kind, let it suffice to add, that several miracles have been attributed to him, and that he died on the 10th of November, A. D. 589. (28)

(16) See *Chap. x. §. 4.* Colgan has a life of St. Aidus at 28 February. It bears marks of considerable antiquity, and the narrative is much better arranged than in many other lives of our saints.

(17) Colgan observes, (*AA. SS p. 422.*) that from this Fiach the district of Kinel-fiacha in the ancient Meath got its name, and that from him were descended the illustrious families of O'Molloy and McGeoghagan. Kinel-fiacha was about Kilbeggan and to the East of it.

(18) In the Acts *Muscrige-Thire.*

(19) Aidus is mentioned (*Acts, cap. 3.*) as a boy when St. Caimnich was a senior, that is a respected and venerable man. Now Caimnich was not born, at the earliest, until 516. If we allow only ten years between his age and that of Aidus, the birth of the latter may be assigned to 526. It can scarcely be placed later, because Aidus died in 589, and is represented as old before his death. But according to this calculation he would have been then only 63 years of age, an age at which men merely begin to be called old. Perhaps Caimnich was not, when the circumstance there related occurred, a senior, properly speaking, although he might have been called so, inasmuch as he afterwards became one. It may be even supposed, that he was not then above three or four years older than Aidus. Or, what is not improbable, the whole anecdote is founded on some mistake. It is hard to believe that Aidus was born later than about 520. In another Life of him, which Colgan considered unworthy of publication, although he quotes it, (*Tr. Th. p. 605.*) he is spoken of as a bishop in the times of St. Brigid. We need not stop to expose the absurdity of this supposition.

(20) The particular place of his birth is not mentioned; but it was most probably in Kinel-Fiacha. See *Not. 17.*

(21) That monastery was at Rathlibhthen in the now King's county. See *Chap. x. §. 3.*

(22) In some MSS. it is called *Enachmidbrenin* or *Enacmid-*

bren ; but Colgan thinks, (*AA. SS.* p. 422.) that the true reading was *Enachmicbrivin*. As it was in Muscridge-Thire (Ormond and particularly the part called Lower Ormond) it was perhaps Nenagh (*N* prefixed as in *Nendrum* for *Aendrum*, Antrim) or more probably the place was known by the name of *Annagh*. *Enachmicbrivin* means Enach of the sons of Brivin, seemingly the same as the O'Brien family. Harris, who calls it *Enachmidbrenin*, was right in placing it (*Monasteries*) in the county of Tipperary, and in remarking that Allemand misplaced it in the county of Cork. Smith (*Hist. of Cork*, Vol. 1. p. 206.) fell into the same mistake, in consequence, I suppose, of his having confounded Muscridge-Thire with the Muskerry of said county, where he found a place formerly called *Kilibrenin* now *Strawhdll*. He then confounded Killbrenin with the monastery founded by Aidus, referring to Usher and Colgan, neither of whom gives the least indication that said monastery was in that county. Usher merely says (p. 963.) that Enachmidbrenin was in Muscraig-tire ; and as to Colgan, he expressly states (*Tr. Th.* p. 186.) that Muscridge-Thyre was in Ormond. That it was so, is evident from the account of the course pursued by St. Patrick on his return from Munster. (See *Chap. vi.* §. 8.) Archdall (at *Strawhdll*) has with great simplicity copied the mistakes of Smith.

(23) In the now barony of Raconrath, county of Westmeath.

(24) One of them is specially mentioned, and as called from his name *Rath-aodh* or *Rath-hugh* in Kinelfiacha, now Rahue in the barony of Moycashel (Westmeath.) See Archdall.

(25) Colgan was not able to point out the situation of Druimard. Was it Dromard in the barony of Ikerin, co. Tipperary ? This is much more probable than his conjecture, followed by Archdall, of its having been the same as Killaird in the now county of Wicklow, a part of Ireland with which Aidus had nothing to do.

(26) See *Chap. x.* §. 3.

(27) Archdall makes Drumrath the same as Drumrany, and says that it is in the barony of Kilkenny West in Westmeath. Others place it in the adjoining barony of Brawney (See Seward *ad loc.*) A monastery was erected there in honour of St. Henan, apparently after his death. Archdall assigns the foundation of it to A. D. 588, for no other reason, as far as I know, than his having read that Aidus died in that year. What had the death

of Aidus to do with the establishment of that monastery? The festival of St. Henan was kept at Drumrath on the 19th of August.

(28) 4 Masters and *AA. SS.* p. 193. They have A. 588. i. e. 589. The day of his death marked by them and in his Acts is 10th Nov. which appears also in several martyrologies, &c. Yet Colgan having found in some others the name of Aidus at 28 February, was induced to annex the Acts to that day.

§. III. According to some writers Eugene bishop of Ardstrath, now Ardstraw, (29) was contemporary with Aidus, having been distinguished about the year 570. (30) But, if he lived, as some say, until 618, (31) he was in all appearance rather a junior, in comparison with Aidus. Be this as it may, he cannot be placed earlier, as a bishop, than in the latter part of the sixth century, although it has been pretended that he had been a disciple of St. Patrick. (32) Eugene was of a Leinster family by his father's side, and of an Ulster by his mother's. (33) He was a great and zealous preacher, and died on the 23d of August. (34) The see of Ardstraw is said to have been transferred to Maghera; (35) and at a late period it was united to Derry. (36) In those times Achonry must be allowed to have been an episcopal see, if it be true that the celebrated Nathi of that place was a bishop. But it is much more probable, that he was not. He is constantly called *Cruimthir Nathi*, that is, *priest Nathi*. Had he been raised to the episcopacy, surely that is not the title, by which our hagiologists and calendarists would have handed down his name to posterity. (37) Having now made mention of him, we may here add that Nathi was placed at Achonry by St. Finnian of Clonard. (38) The time of his being fixed there was very probably not long prior to Finnian's death. (39) Nathi's school became highly distinguished, particularly by its having been that, in which the great St. Fechin of Fore received his ecclesiastical and literary

education. (40) His name is always mentioned with the greatest respect ; (41) and his festival was and is still observed in the diocese of Achonry on the 9th of August.

(29) In the barony of Strabane, county of Tyrone, Seward (at *Rathlure*) is shamefully wrong in placing Ardstrath and the river Derg in the county of Antrim.

(30) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* He mentions a Life of St. Cainnich, in which Eugene is said to have been contemporary with him and Comgall of Bangor. (See *Pr. p.* 957.) Hence he deduced that Eugene flourished in 570.

(31) Ware (*Bishops at Derry*) observes that Eugene died, as it is said, in 618. Harris refers to Usher as placing his death in 570. But Usher says nothing about it. Harris misunderstood *flourished for died*. Archdall (at *Ardstraw*) following Harris has in like manner misrepresented Usher's meaning.

(32) Colgan has (*Tr. Th. p.* 269) Eugene of Ardstrath in his huge list of the disciples of our Apostle ; and yet (*AA. SS. p.* 406) reckons him among those of Finnian of Clonard. This is not enough ; for elsewhere (*ib. p.* 438.) he makes him study in Britain under the abbot Monenus the master of Tigernach of Clones, Finnian of Maghbile, &c. (See *Not. 17 to Chap. ix.*)

(33) In his Life quoted in *AA. SS. p.* 438, his father is said to have been *Cainnechus de Lagenia*. This sets aside Usher's conjecture (*p.* 958), that he might have been the same as Eogen mac Laisre, or son of Laisre, mentioned in the second class of saints. His mother is called *Muindecha* of the race of the Mugdorni, the inhabitants either of Mourne in Down, or more probably of the territory, of which Cremourne in Monaghan now forms a part (See *Not. 30 to Chap. vi.*) As Eugene's maternal connexions were in Ulster, it is easy to understand how he became known in that province and was there appointed bishop.

(34) Ware, *Bishops at Derry*. Colgan intended to publish his Acts at that day.

(35) Ware, *ib.* He had no right to place this translation as early as he has done. The time of it is not known. Maghera is in the now county of Derry. Its church was dedicated to St. Laroach, whose festival was kept there on the 17th of Febru-

ary. Whether he was a bishop or not, Ware does not inform us. Colgan has at said day St. Laurec, but merely gives his name and genealogy. Ware thought that it was on account of St. Lu-roch that the see of Ardstraw was otherwise called that of Rathlure.

(36) Ware, *ib.*

(37) Ware having observed, (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) that Nathi is called only *presbyter* in the Life of Finnian of Clonard, says he cannot believe but that he was afterwards made bishop of Achonry. And in *Bishops* he actually lays him down as one, without however, alleging any authority. Nor is it only in Finnian's Life, or relatively to any particular transaction, that he is called *Cruim-thir* or priest; whereas this is the title, which, as Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 399.*) is given to him *passim*. In Colgan's works, as far as I can discover, he is never called *bishop*. It is true that in one of the lives of St. Fechin Nathi is styled *antistes*. Yet a few lines before he is called *presbyter*. Besides, the title *antistes*, is often given to priests.

(38) We read in the Acts of Finnian (*cap. 25.*) that he went to a place where dwelt a man of God named Nathi a priest, and that, having performed a miracle there, the dynast of the district gave him the place on which it occurred, and called Achad-chonaire, which Finnian then made over to the said priest Nathi. Hence Colgan, Ware, (*Bishops*) Harris, &c. make Nathi a disciple of Finnian; but Nathi was a priest before Finnian seems to have been acquainted with him.

(39) Finnian's excursion to Connaught and his meeting with Nathi are related as having taken place after almost all his Clonard disciples had left his school, and formed establishments of their own. Ware is therefore wrong (*Antiq. cap. 29.* and *Bishops*) in assigning the foundation of the church of Achonry to about 590; for at that time Finnian had scarcely begun to teach at Clonard. (See *Chap. ix. §. 8.*) I should rather assign it to about 560; and according to the series of his transactions, as given in his Acts, it appears as one of the last of his life.

(40) Life of Fechin, 20 *January*. From his having been a scholar of Nathi and even a priest before his death, it follows that Nathi must have lived to a great age. Fechin did not die until A. D. 665, when he was carried off by a plague. Now sup-

posing that he lived to the age of 90, he would have been born in 575, and might have been ordained priest in 605. Nathi must have lived until, at least, this year. And as he had been a priest since the days of Finnian of Clonard, who died in 552, and some time prior to this event, Nathi's birth cannot be placed later than 520. On the whole, it is plain that he could not have lived less than about 90 years, or probably more, there being no sufficient reason to think, that his disciple Fechin reached the age which we supposed he did. It is very probable, that he did not pass his eightieth year, in which case he would not have been ordained priest until 615. In this hypothesis Nathi would have been still alive in this year; for, as we have seen, he survived Fechin's ordination. If Ware's statement, according to which Nathi should have been a priest in 590, were to be admitted, it would follow that he was born as early, at least, 500. How could this be reconciled with his having lived until Fechin also became one?

(41) Compare with *Not. 65. to Chap. vii.*

(42) The martyrology of Cashel, quoted in *AA. SS. p. 596*, gives him the title of *bishop of Ros-alethir*. Accordingly Ware (*Bishops at Ross*) says that he could not but be of that opinion. This title does not appear in the *Life of St. Pulcherius*, at 13 March, in which he is mentioned several times; but there is nothing in opposition to it. He is there called *Fachnan the wise and virtuous*.

§. iv. If St. Fachtna or Fachnan of Ross was a bishop, as there is good authority for admitting, (42) the see of that place existed at the period we are now treating of, and very probably before the year 570. (43) He was certainly established at Ross before that year, notwithstanding its having been supposed by some modern writers, that his monastery was not founded until many years later. (44) Hence it appears, that instead of having been a disciple of St. Barr or Finbarr of Cork, as is usually said, (45) he was prior to him. Fachnan was surnamed *Mongach* or *hairy*, as some authors explain it, while others think it should be written *Mac Mongach*, that is, son of Mongach. (46) He was for some time, and in

all appearance before he settled at Ross, abbot of Darinis Moelanfaidh, now Molana, a small island of the river Blackwater in the county of Waterford. (47) His school at Ross was one of the most celebrated and frequented in Ireland, (48) and continued so after his death, the precise time of which is not known; it merely appearing that he lived until towards the close of the sixth century. (49) He died on the 14th of August, this being the day marked as his *Natalis* in the Calendars. (50) This saint must not, I think, be confounded with the St. Fachnan, to whose memory the church of Kilfenora has been dedicated. (51) He is said, but without any foundation, to have been succeeded at Ross by a St. Finchard. (52)

(43) Fachnan was at Ross before the death of St. Ita, which was in 570. Having lost his sight there, while living in a monastery founded by himself, he went to consult St. Ita upon a point relative to certain means, which he had been directed to use towards the recovery of it. The whole transaction is related in the *Life of Pulcherius*, *cap. 4.* where we read; "Tunc temporis (a short time before the birth of Pulcherius) S. Fachnanus sapiens et probus aliquo eventu factus est coecus, et nihil videbat. Ipse sanctus in australi Hiberniae plaga juxta mare in suo monasterio quod ipse fundavit (ubi crevit civitas, in qua semper manet magnum studium scholarium, quae dicitur *Ross-alithre*) habitabat—Et ait ad suos sanctus; scio quid faciam; ibo ad Dei prophetissam B. Itam," &c. The surname *alithre* or *alithri*, or, as now spelled, *oilithre*, by which the episcopal town of Ross was distinguished from many other places of that name, was given to it on account of having a great resort of pilgrims.

(44) Ware says, (*Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Co. Cork*) that Fachnan founded the monastery of Ross about the *end* of the 6th century. Yet (*ib. cap. 29.* and *Bishops at Ross*) he tells us, that he flourished in the *beginning* of said century. It is odd that so accurate a writer could have contradicted himself. He ought to have said, that Fachnan flourished and founded that monastery about the *middle* of the sixth century. Colgan states (*Ind. Chron. Tr. 77.*) that

he flourished in 590. It is probable, that he was still alive in that year; but he had *flourished* long before it. From those few words of Colgan Archdall (at *Molana*) deduced, by a strange sort of logic, that Fachnan founded the abbey of Ross about 590.

(45) Usher has (p. 971.) Fachtna or Fachnan among several persons, who are said to have studied under St. Barr. He is named also in a long list of those supposed disciples *ap.* Colgan, *AA. SS.* at *St. Garoan*, 26 Mart. It is plain that these lists have been made up at random, and that little or no dependence can be placed on them. That of Colgan differs very materially from Usher's. The compilers of them, wishing to do honour to St. Barr, thrust into them the names of many distinguished men, whom they had happened to hear of, without any regard to time or place. Of this more hereafter.

(46) In the martyrology of Cashel he is called "*Fachtna Mongach quia cum caesarie natus.*" In some Irish calendars the surname is *Mhicmongaigh*, and hence Usher's *filius Monghich*, p. 971. But, as some old writers pretend (*AA. SS.* p. 596) it was meant to signify not the son of one *Mongach*, but *hairy son* or *child*. Yet others have understood it as meaning *son of Mongach* or rather *Moenach*, who, they say, was descended from Maccon a celebrated Irish hero.

(47) In the above quoted martyrology we read of Fachnan; "*Fuit etiam abbas de Dar-inis Moelanfaidh in regione Desiorum in Momonia.*" Ware says (*Antiq. cap. 26.* at *Co. Waterford*) that a monastery was founded in Molanna or Darinis by St. Mo-lanfide, as he calls him, in the sixth century, and is followed by Harris and Archdall. I wish he had told us something further concerning this saint. It is probable, that he only guessed at him from that name being added to Darinis. Colgan gives us no account of him, at least under the name of *Moelanfaidh*. But he makes mention (*AA. SS.* p. 188.) of several saints called *Moeloc* or *Mailoc*, which, he observes, is the same name as *Moelan*. One of them was probably the founder of that monastery; for *faidh* is, I believe, a surname, *fada* or *fad* long. At what time he lived, I cannot form any conjecture; and, for aught I know, he might have belonged to the 5th century. Archdall's huge mistake concerning Ferdachrioch, (Maccarthen of Clogher) having been abbot of this Darinis has been already animadverted upon. (Not

192 to *Chap. vi.*) There is another Darinis near Wexford, in which a monastery was founded most probably by St. Cayman about the beginning of the sixth century (See *Not. 121 to Chap. ix.*) and not, as Archdall thought, by St. Nemhan, who lived in the seventh.

(48) Above *Not. 43.* Usher, *p. 907.* Ware, *Antiq. cap. 15.*

(49) According to a statement in the *Life of Pulcherius (cap. 30.)* we find that Fachnan was alive not only after Pulcherius had founded a monastery, which he could scarcely have done before A. D. 580, but likewise 14 years prior to the death of Colman Mac-Feraidhe, prince of Ossory. Now this Colman died in 601, *i. e. 602,* (4 Masters, *Tr. Th. p. 375,* and O'Flaherty's *MS. note*) and consequently Fachnan lived until, at least, 588. Perhaps it may be said, that the Fachnan here spoken of was different from Fachnan of Ross mentioned in a former part of said *Life* (above *Not. 43.*); and in fact Colgan seems to distinguish them in his third Index to *AA. SS.* But, if that were the case, would not the author of said *Life*, who in both places exhibits Fachnan as a great saint, given us some clue towards discovering that he alluded to more than one of that name? particularly as the *Life* is written with great order, regularity, and a cautious precision in discriminating, when necessary, certain names by the addition of a surname or some other distinctive mark, lest the reader might confound different persons together.

(50) *AA. SS. p. 596.* Archdall says (at *Ross*) that his festival is held on the 14th of August, and yet he tells us (at *Molana*) that it is on the 19th of January.

(51) The history of the see of Kilfenora or, as Ware calls it, *Fenabore* is so obscure, that he was not able to decide by whom it was founded. In one place (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) he says, "it may be judged that St. Fachnan was the founder." In another (*Bishops*) he merely states, that its cathedral was dedicated to his memory. He clearly seems to have meant St. Fachnan of Ross. And so the matter appears to be understood at present in the diocese of Kilfenora, whereas the festival of the patron saint is kept there on the 14th of August, as if St. Fachnan of Ross was he also of Kilfenora. But it is much more probable, that they were different persons. That Fachnan of Ross did not found that see, or even a monastery there, is evident from its not being mentioned in the

Calendars, where treating of him, notwithstanding the care taken not to omit that, besides Ross, he had governed also a house in Darinis. Why not mention likewise Kilfenora, had he been there? especially as it became an episcopal see. It may be said, that Fachnan was revered there not as founder of the see, but as the saint, in whose name the church was dedicated, long perhaps before there was any bishop of Kilfenora. Yet I can hardly believe that Kilfenora had not a Fachnan or Fachtna of its own. Among the real or pretended disciples of St. Barr we find, besides Fachnan of Ross, a St. Fachna de Ria. (*AA. SS. p. 750.*) He is the *Fachtnanus* of Usher, (*Pr. p. 971.*) a distinct person from Fachtna Mongich, or of Ross, there mentioned. Whether this Fachna, or Fachnan de Ria was a scholar, or not, of St. Barr, is of little consequence; but it cannot be doubted that such a person did exist in old times, probably in the seventh century. Why may we not suppose, that he was the founder of Kilfenora? Its very name seems to lead to this conclusion. Fachnan is often called *Fechnan-Kilfenora* is a compound name, thus probably formed; *Kil-fen* (a contraction of *Fechnan*)—*o* de, or from—*Ra*, or *Ria*.

(52) Ware (*Bishops at Ross*) fell into a singular mistake on this occasion, having been led astray by the confusion in arranging names and the errors of the press, that occur in one part of the *AA. SS.* where Colgan is reckoning up the so called disciples of St. Barr. He quotes (*p. 750*) a long passage relative to them, in which we read; “*S. Finchadius de Domnachmor, S. Fachna seu Facundus de Ria, S. Facundus* (*Fachna*) *de Ros-alither.*” Elsewhere (*ib. p. 607*) quoting the same long passage, it has happened that the words here marked in Italics were omitted by the printer, so that the text runs, “*Finchadius de Ros-alither,*” while *Domnachmor* and the two *Fachnas* are left out. Had Ware looked to *p. 750*, he would not have changed *Finchad* of *Domnachmor* into a *Finchad* of *Ross*. There is in the martyrology of Charles Maguire at 5 *Mart.* as cited in *AA. SS. p. 471*, a passage, whence, if it deserves credit, it might seem that one Conall succeeded Fachnan at *Ross* and elsewhere. Kieran of *Saigir* is made to foretell, that Conall would govern monks and monasteries after Fachnan of *Ross-alithir*. But there are so many fables concerning Kieran, that this is perhaps one of them. Yet in said passage it is not expressly said, that Conal was to govern the institutions of

Fachnan; and it can be explained as simply indicating, that one would be later in time than the other. At any rate Archdall had no sufficient authority (at *Ross*) for representing Conall as the immediate successor of Fachnan.

§ v. Before I proceed to inquire into the history of other eminent ecclesiastics of those times, it is necessary to give some account of the changes that took place in the succession of the Irish monarchs between St. Columba's departure from Ireland and his attending at the meeting of Drumceat. Diernit, son of Corvail, having reigned 21 years, (53) was, as already observed, killed by a prince Aidus, surnamed the *black* (54) in 565 at a place called Rathbeg. The crown now reverted to the Eugenic branch of the northern Nialls, and two sons of Murchertach Mac Erca, (55) Domnald and Fergus, who had fought with great success against Diernit and the southern Nialls, (56) were raised to the sovereignty of all Ireland, which they held in partnership for only one year. They were succeeded by two other copartners on the throne, Boetan a brother of theirs, and his nephew Eochad son of Domnald, who ruled during two years. (57) After them Anmireus, son of Sedna of the Tirconnallian line, was in the year 568 raised to the throne, which he possessed during three years. (58.) He also met with a violent death, having been killed by one Fergus son of Nellin. (59) Anmireus was succeeded in 571 by his first cousin Boetan the second, whose short reign of less than a year was terminated by his having fallen in battle. (60) The next monarch after Boetan II. was Aidus or Hugh son of Anmireus. He began to reign in 572, (61) and occupied the throne for full 26 years, until, having marched against the people of Leinster for the purpose of exacting a tribute claimed by him, he was killed on the 10th of January, A. D. 599, in the battle of Duinbolg, in which his opponents were commanded by their celebrated king Brandubh. (62)

(53) See *Chap. x. §. 5.*

(54) See *Chap. xi. §. 14* and *ib. Not. 169.* Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) following the 4 Masters calls Aidus son of Suibne and king of Dalnaraída or Dalarida. In the English translation of Keating by D. O'Connor he is called Hugh Dubh Mac Swyny, who killed Diarmid at Rathbeag in Muighline. O'Flaherty writes; (*Carm. Chronograph.*) "Dermítius ferro, fluctibus, igne perit." Diarmid was buried, according to Keating, in a place called *Cuinniry*; O'Halloran (*B. viii. ch. 4.*) says, at Clonmagnois.

(55) See *chap. ix. §. 2.*

(56) *Ex. c.* in the battle of Culdremni. See *chap. xi. §. 11.* and Usher, *Ind. Chron. ad a. 561.*

(57) Neither Usher in his list of the Irish sovereigns of those times (*p. 947*) nor Ware (*Antiq. cap. 4.*) has these two kings Boetan and Eochad. The 4 Masters and Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 448.*) have them in their catalogue, and state that they were killed in battle, fighting against Cronan dynast of Kiennacta. (See *Not. 63. to Chap. vii.*) They are also in O'Flaherty's list, *Ogyg. p. 111. cap. 93.* He differs from the 4 Masters and Colgan as to the years of the Christian era, in which these and other kings of that period reigned, but agrees with them in most part, as to the length of their reigns. As it is not my business to dive into the civil history of Ireland, I here follow his chronological suppositions, having enough to do in endeavouring to arrange the ecclesiastical department.

(58) Usher and Ware (*loc. cit.*) assign the beginning of Anmiracus', or Anmirach's, reign to A. D. 566, in consequence of their placing him immediately after Domnald and Fergus. Yet they agree with the 4 Masters and O'Flaherty as to his having reigned three years. We have already seen, (*Not. 95. to Chap. xi.*) that Anmiracus was first cousin to St. Columba.

(59) *Tr. Th. p. 448.* and Ware, *loc. cit.*

(60) The 4 Masters and Colgan, (*ib.*) say that Boetan II. was killed fighting against two princes Cumanii, or Cuimin, not brothers, but probably relatives, (see Keating, *B. 2.*) Ware makes this Boetan or Beotan (the first of the name mentioned by him) brother to Murchertach Mac-Erca, and places the commencement of his reign in 569. But, as Murchertach died in 533 or 534 (See *Chap. ix. §. 2.*) it is not probable that a prince, who did not be-

gin to reign until 569, was a brother of his. He associates with him on the throne Eochan a son of Murchertach, and adds that, having reigned three years, they were slain by Cronan in the battle of Glengevin. This is the Cronan mentioned above; (*Not.* 57.) and the Boetan and Eochan of Ware (whom Usher also has as reigning three years, without, however, stating to what family they belonged) are in fact the Boetan I. and Eochad of the 4 Masters and O'Flaherty, whom they place prior to Ainmireus. There is also this difference that the Boetan I. of the latter appears not as brother but son of Murchertach, and Eochad or Eochan as grandson, not son of the same prince. The three years, assigned by Ware and Usher to these joint sovereigns, are divided by O'Flaherty, &c. allowing two years for Boetan I. and Eochad, and one for Boetan II. whom they place after Annimraeus. Boetan II. is stated (*Tr. Th.* p. 488.) to have been a grandson of Fergus of the Tirconallian line by his son Ninnidh. Consequently he was a first cousin of Annimraeus, and also of St. Columba.

(61) Ware, Usher, and O'Flaherty agree as to this date, in consequence of the two former having allowed three years for the immediate successor or successors of Annimraeus, which O'Flaherty divided as explained in the preceding Note.

(62) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Ware *loc. cit.* assign this battle to A. 598. O'Flaherty writes 598-9, which, on account of Aidus having been killed in January, corresponds to our A. 599. And, as Usher (p. 947) allows him 26 full years from A. 572, it is plain that his death must be placed in 599, unless we should suppose that he had been crowned before the 10th of January of the year 572. (*Not.* 182 to *Chap.* xi.)

§ VI. In the second class of Irish saints next after St. Columba is mentioned, his friend Caineus, commonly called St. Kenny. (63) He was a native of Kiennacta (64) in the North of Ireland. His father was a celebrated poet Laidec of the sept of Mocudalan or the race of Dalan, (65) and his mother's name was Melda. (66) Cainech was born in the year 516, (67) and, when arrived at the age of discretion, wishing to acquire learning and lead a religious life, (68) went to Britain and there placed himself under the venerable abbot Docus, (69) with

whom he remained for some years in close application to his studies and in the practice of monastic obedience. Passing by a pretended tour of his to Rome, for which there is no sufficient authority, we find him afterwards at the school of Finnian of Clonard. (70) Having left this school, he is said to have preached for some years in the northern parts of Ireland; (71) and were we to believe some accounts, he passed over to North Britain, where he lived as a hermit in the land of the Picts. (72) After some time Caineach proceeded towards the South of Ireland, and, having stopped for a while in some religious house, wrote a copy of the four Gospels, which was preserved for a very long time, and was called *Glass-Kinnich*, or *Chain of Caineach* (73) Thence he went to the country now called Upper Ossory, and, being kindly received by the inhabitants, founded the great monastery of Aghaboe. (74) The time of its foundation is not known; but it was prior to the year 577. (75) Aghaboe became, in course of time, the residence of the bishop of Ossory, the see of Saigir having been transferred to it. (76) It is said, that Caineach, being patronized by Colman Mac Feraidhe prince of Ossory, (77) formed some other establishments in that country. His visits to St. Columba, and their mutual attachment, have been already mentioned. (78) He was likewise connected, by ties of friendship, with other great men of his time, such as the Brendans, Comgall, Fintan of Clonenagh, (79) &c. and, in his old days, with St. Pulcherius of Laithmor. Caineach was occasionally endowed with supernatural gifts, (80) and was versed in the art of composing works, so as to appear as a biographer and poet. (81) Having governed in person, as abbot and priest, the monastery of Aghaboe, he died in the 84th year of his age, on the 11th of October, A. D. 599. (82)

(63) It has been already observed, that Smith (*Life of St. Columba*) calls the saint Kenneth. He has never been known by

that name in Ireland. We have had Keneds or Kineds, now Kennedys; but *Cainech* is a different name, and has been anglicized only into *Canice* or *Kenny*. Smith says that one of the Hebrides (Inch Kenneth) near Iona or Hy bears his name. I believe some person different from *Cainech* must be looked for in searching for the origin of that denomination, perhaps a Columbian monk, such as St. Kinaeth who became abbot of Durrough and died in 789. (*Tr. Th.* p. 507.) There is no reason to think, that *Cainech* formed any establishment in the Hebrides; nor did he belong to Columba's institution. I need not tell the reader, that the city of Kilkenny has got its name from a church having been there dedicated to St. *Cainech* or *Kenny*. Yet Ledwich, (*Antiquities of Irishtown, &c.* in 2d Ed. p. 382.) to show his learning, would fain derive it from *Coil* (which he changes into *Kyle*) *ken-ui*, or, he says, *Wooded head near the river*. This is a truly wooden-headed etymology. Where did he find that *ui* means river? He says the natives call it *Cilcanuigh*. Is not that evidently the *Cell of Cainic*? The Doctor will not allow saints any where.

(64) (*Tr. Th.* p. 182.) The Kiennacta here mentioned was that, of which the barony of Kenaght, (co. Londonderry) now forms a part. Colgan says that *Cainech* is the patron saint of that country.

(65) Ware, *Writers*, L. 1. c. 13. al. 15. and Usher p. 1065. Burke in the Office of St. *Cainech* (11th October) calls his father *Lyadec*. In the Life of St. Cormac (*AA. SS.* p. 752) he is called *Lugad*; and by Hanmer (*Chronicle*, p. 124. new Ed.) *Lugaid Lechteag*. Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 3. c. 17.*) gives to *Cainech* the surname *Mocu-Dalon*.

(66) Ware, *ib.*

(67) Colgan, after the 4 Masters, *AA. SS.* p. 190. and *Tr. Th.* p. 182. The year marked by him is 515, which, however, following the rule often mentioned was the same as 516. Usher has (p. 957) the year 527, which is that assigned also by Burke (*Office. &c.*) for the birth of *Cainech*. This date cannot be reconciled with *Cainech*'s having been older than St. Aidus bishop of Killare; who was in all probability born about or not long after the year 520. (See above *Not.* 19.) *Cainech*'s birth must therefore be placed some years before 527, and we may safely assign it to 516.

(68) Usher quotes from a Life of Cainech the following passage; "Cum S. Cainnicus crevisset, et *perfectus esset sensu*, voluit scientiam discere et religiosae vitae vacare perrexit ad mare transnavigavitque ad Britanniam," &c. Harris (*Writers, at Cainece*,) and Burke (*Office*) say, that he was only 13 years of age, when he went to Britain. But surely a boy of that age would not have been considered as *perfectus sensu*.

(69). See *Chap. ix. §. 11.*

(70) In Finnian's Acts, *cap. 19.* and several other documents, Cainech is reckoned among the principal scholars of that great man.

(71) He is spoken of (*AA. SS. p. 752.*) as having been on some occasion at the mouth of the river Moy, which empties itself into the bay of Killala.

(72) Harris (*Writers*) and Burke in the *Office*, mention this Pictish hermitage of Cainech. Adamnan, who often makes mention of him, gives us no hint to this purpose, and, when touching on his visit to St. Columba, seems to exhibit them, all through, as having been made between Ireland and one or other of the Hebrides. I suspect that what is said of his having been in Pictland is founded on a mistake as to the meaning of a *voyage to Britain*, as if it always referred to the mainland. But it was not uncommon to use that phrase for a passage from Ireland to the isles adjacent to Britain, as even Adamnan has done. See *Not. 147 to Chap. xi.*

(73) Usher, *p. 1065*) from a Life of Cainech. In the passage quoted by him the place is called *insula Roscree*; and Burke (*Office, &c.*) calls it *fluminis insulam Roscreensem*. But Roscrea, a well known town in Munster, is not in an island. I believe that instead of *Roscree*, we ought to read *Lochree*, a lake formed by the Shannon, in the islands of which, as we have often seen, there existed religious communities prior to the time that Cainech moved towards the South, while at the same period there does not seem to have been any such establishment at Roscrea? Or might it have been the *stagnum Cree*, mentioned in the Life of St. Cronan, the same, I suppose, as Monelabog, in which is the island of Monaincha? Ware, quoting the same passage (*Writers at Cainece*) omits the words *insula Roscree*, for this reason, we may conjecture, that he could not conceive why Ros-

crea should be placed in an island. Yet Harris has added them to Ware's text. The name, *Glass-Kinnich*, seems to indicate, that Cainech wrote a continued commentary on the Gospels, of that kind, which in the middle ages used to be called *Catena*, or *Chain*, for instance, *Catena in Job*. It may be that *Catena*, in this sense, was adopted from the old Irish divines.

(74) Adamnan, (*L. 2. c. 13.*) calls it *Achad-bou*, "*quod latine Campus bovis dicitur.*"

(75) Cainech had, as is plain from Adamnan, (*L. 3. c. 17.*) founded the house of Aghaboe, before he accompanied Brendan of Clonfert on a visit to St. Columba then in the isle of Hymba. Brendan died in 577. Hence it appears, that Harris (*Writers*) and Burke (*Office &c.*) were wrong in assigning that foundation to the time, in which Colman mac Feredach or Feraidhe ruled Ossory; whereas he could not have been sovereign of that territory until A. D. 582 (583) in which his father Feredach was killed. See the 4 Masters, and *Tr. Th. p. 450.*

(76) Ware and Harris (*Bishops at Ossory*) say, that the see of Saigir was transferred to Aghaboe, perhaps in 1052. But, as will be seen in its proper place, this translation occurred at a later period.

(77) This was the Colman mentioned above, *Not. 49* and *75.* His father's name is variously written, *Feraidhe*, *Feradach*, *Feredach*. Our old writers allowed themselves too great a latitude in spelling proper names, so as often to excite doubts as to the identity of one and the same person. Hundreds of instances might be adduced. Thus the very saint we are now treating of appears as *Cainech*, *Cainnich*, *Cannick*, *Kinnich*, &c. In the *Life of St. Pulcherius (cap. 30.)* we read, that St. Cainech had prayed for the eternal salvation of Colman, and that he would assist him in every thing.

(78) See *Not. 182.* to *Chap. xi.*

(79) In Fintan's *Acts, cap. 7.* it is related, that, his rules being so strict as not to allow either himself or his monks the use even of milk, Cainech, accompanied by some other holy men, went to Clonenagh for the purpose of inducing him to relax somewhat of the severity of his discipline. Fintan yielded as for his monks, but declined to change his own manner of living.

(80) Adamnan relates one instance of them. (*See Not. 182*

to Chap. xi.) Some others are mentioned in the Life of Pulcherius.

(81) Ware (*Writers at Cainic*) attributes to him a Life of St. Columba and Hymns in praise of him. We may, I dare say, deduce another instance of his authorship from what has been remarked above, *Not. 73.*

(82) Four Masters and *AA. SS.* p. 190. They have 598, i. e. 599. Usher agrees (p. 957.) as to the year of his death, but, in consequence of his supposition that Caineach was born in 527, (above *Not. 67*) says that he died at the age of 72. Yet he observes, that in a Life of Caineach he found his death assigned to his 84th year. Ware, upon what authority I do not know, (*Writers and Antiq. cap. 26. at Queen's County*) places it in 600, and, as he gives him, with Usher, only 72 years of age, he must have supposed that Cainnach had been born in 528.

§ VII. In the same class, after Caineach the first named is Eogin mac Laisre, concerning whom I can find nothing satisfactory. (83) Then comes Lugeus, who, according to every appearance, was the same as the celebrated Lugidus or Molua of Clonfert-Molua. As he is more generally called *Molua*, (84) I shall, in my endeavours to give a sketch of his history, make use of that name. He was of a distinguished family of Hy-Figinte, a district of Munster. His father was Carthar, surnamed *Coche*, and his mother Sochla, a native of Ossory. (85) Of the time of his birth I do not meet with any account. Were it true that he had been at Finnian's school of Clonard, (86) he should have come into the world several years previous to the middle of the sixth century. Supposing that he was at that school, it was undoubtedly in his younger days, and before he became a disciple of Comgall of Bangor, which he could not have been earlier than about A. D. 559. (87) Under this great master he remained for, probably, a considerable time, and, having embraced the monastic state, became so distinguished by his virtue and abilities, that Comgall,

finding him duly qualified for governing others, directed him to form an establishment for himself and to nourish the servants of Christ. (88) Accordingly Molua returned to Munster, and, being attended by some disciples, repaired to Mount Luachra in the now county of Limerick. (89) Wishing to establish himself in that district, he was advised not to remain there by the dynast, a worthy man, whose name was Foelan. (90) He then removed from that country, although it is probable that he left some of his disciples there, and went to Mount Bladhma, now Sliebh-bloom, near where his maternal relatives resided, and erected a monastery at a place since called *Clonfert Molua*, now Clonfertmulloe, (91) to which a vast number of monks resorted from various parts, who were all received with great kindness by Molua. Afterwards he returned to Hy-Figinte, where he founded several cells and monasteries. (92) He is said to have established many other religious houses, so as in all to have been as many as a hundred, (93) which however ought, I believe, to be understood not only of those founded immediately by himself, but as including others formed by his disciples, and belonging to his order or institution. For Molua drew up a particular Rule for his monks, which, we are told, was read and approved of by Pope Gregory the great (94). One of his regulations was the perpetual exclusion of women from the monastery of Clonfert-Molua. (95) The church of Killaloe, in Irish *Kill-da-lua*, or cell of Lua, is supposed to have got its name from the saint, either from his having lived there for some time, (96) or from its having been dedicated in his name. This is not improbable, (97) although far from being certain. It has been said by some writers, that Molua was afflicted with a leprosy, that is, with some cutaneous complaint, for 20 years before his death; but there is reason to think, that Molua, surnamed the *leper*, was a different person,

and the real Molua of Killaloe. (98) A short time before his death he is said to have called upon Dagan, bishop of Achad-Dagan, for the purpose of consulting him as to the appointment of a successor for his monastery. Dagan told him that he would be succeeded by Lactan, a choice with which he was highly pleased. (99) St. Molua departed this life not long after the beginning of the seventh century. (100) The day assigned for his death is the 4th of August. This saint was reckoned among the Fathers of the Irish church (101).

(83) It has been already observed (*Not.* 33.) that, as he is called son of Láisre, he was different from Eugene, bishop of Ardstrath. Usher has (*p.* 958.) another conjecture, viz. that he might have been the same as the holy elder Eogan, one of those to whom St. Kevin's parents entrusted him, when he was 12 years old (See *Chap.* x. § 10.) But how could a man who was a senior when Kevin was so young, belong to the second class of saints? He must have flourished many years before that class began.

(84) His original name was *Lua*, whence *Mo-Lua* or *my Lua*. Some of our old writers have latinized it into *Lugidus*, and hence Usher (*p.* 949) and Ware (*Writers*) speak of *Lugidus* and *Molua* as one and the same person. St. Bernard calls him *Luanus*, by which name he is mentioned also in *AA. SS.* *p.* 57. There is in Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra* a Life of St. Molua taken from a MS. of Armagh. The fables, with which it abounds, show that it is not very ancient.

(85) Ware (*Writers*, *L. i. c. 13. al. 15.*) quotes from a Life of Molua the following passage. "Beatissimus abbas Lugidus, generosis ortus parentibus, patrem habuit Cartharium, genere Mumeniensem; mater autem dicta est Sochla natione Oorigensis." The English translator has most strangely rendered *generosis* by *gentile*. In the Life ap. Fleming we read (*cap.* 1.); "Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis de provincia Mumoniae, de regione Hua Fidhgenti de plebe Corcoiche, nomine Mo-Lua, cujus pater vocabatur Carthach, sed vulgo Coche dicitur; mater vero ejus Sochla, id est, larga, vocabatur, quæ erat de occidentali Laginiensium plaga, id est, Osvaíri, oriunda."

O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.* p. 381.) follows this account. Instead of *Hua-Fidhgenti* Hanmer has (*Chronicle*, p. 121 new ed.) *Hua-fi* in Munster. In the now quoted Life (*cap.* 27.) *Hua-Fidgenti*, or, as some call it, *Hy-Figinte*, is described as a country or people at the south side of the Shannon to as far as Mount Luachra in the west. It was in the now county of Limerick, although Harris (*Antiq. ch.* 7.) places part of it in Kerry. Many tracts in Ireland were denominated *Corcach* or *Corcoick*, which signifies *moor*, *marsh*, or *low swampy ground*. That Molua's father was called *Coche*, appears from several other documents, such as the Life of St. Moedoc *cap.* 20, and that of Pulcherius *cap.* 11. Colgan in his notes to them applies what is said of Molua, son of Coche, to the Molua whose festival was held on the 4th of August, that is, to the Molua, whom we are treating of. I do not find that he calls his father *Carthar*. As the name *Carthar* or *Carthack* was that of several princes and nobles of Munster, it became necessary to distinguish them by surnames or epithets. These, as in many other cases, were often used alone to designate persons, omitting, for conciseness' sake, the real names. Thus, although Molua's father was a *Carthar*, yet he might have been more generally called simply *Coche*.

(86) Colgan refers (*AA. SS.* p. 405.) to Molua's Life for his being a scholar of Finnian; and, in fact, it is mentioned, but I believe erroneously, in *cap.* 26. and as having occurred after he left Bangor.

(87.) See *Chap.* x. §. 12. That Molua was a disciple of Cormac, is universally admitted. See Usher, p. 919) Ware, (*Writers at Molua*), Molua's Life, *passim*.

(88) Life of St. Pulcherius, *cap.* xi. By *nourishing the servants of Christ* is meant not only the relieving of the bodily wants of the poor, &c. but likewise the supplying them with spiritual food.

(89) See *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* xi. Mount Luachra adjoins the country called *Hy-figinte*, of which Molua is said to have been a native (See *Not.* 85.)

(90) Life *ap. Fleming*, *cap.* 27.

(91) In said Life (see *cap.* 30. and Usher, p. 943.) Clonfert-molua is stated to have been at the very boundary of Leinster and (the ancient) Munster, between Ossory, Hele (Ely O'Carrol far-

merly in Munster) and Leix. Slieve-Bloom was in old times a boundary between Munster and Leinster. (Seward *Topogr. &c.*) According to the modern division Clonfertmulloe is in the King's county, and is now a parish. In the Life the origin of the name is thus explained; "Cluain-ferta-Molua, id est, *Latibulum mirabile S. Moluae*, eo quod ipse in sua vita multa miracula in ea fecit, et adhuc gratia Dei per eum patrantur." The former name of that place is said to have been *Ross-Bulead*, and the dynast, with whose permission Molua erected his monastery, Berach of *Laigy* or *Leix*.

(92) Said Life, *cap.* 31.

(93) St. Bernard makes mention of this hearsay as to the 100 monasteries. (See *Not.* 203 to *Chap.* x.) I am surprized that Usher has (*Ind. Chron.* ad a. 620.) applied St. Bernard's words to a Lua, who is spoken of in Jonas, Life of St. Columbanus, *cap.* 20. This Lua was one of those, who went to France with Columbanus, and was undoubtedly different from the Luanus of St. Bernard. It is plain from the text, that he meant a founder of monasteries in Ireland; nor does he speak of Columbanus or such other disciples of Comgall as went to the Continent, until after his touching upon the foundations of Luanus, who could have been no other than Molua of Clonfert-Molua, of whom we may assert that he did not go abroad with St. Columbanus.

(94) Molua's Life, (*cap.* 43); Usher (*p.* 920); Colgan (*AA. SS.* *p.* 585;) &c. It is said that the abbot, afterwards bishop, Dagan of Achadh-Dagain going to Rome, took with him a copy of Molua's rule, which, on being read by the Pope, pleased him so much, that he highly praised it and sent his blessing to the author. Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns this transaction to A. D. 599. But it is more than probable, that no such transaction took place. It is, I dare say, a mere flourish made up by some monk of Molua's order, in honour of the Rule, which he observed. As to Dagan, it may be doubted, whether he was ever at Rome, if, as there is every reason to believe, he was the bishop Dagan mentioned by Bede (*Ecdl. Hist. L. 2. c. 4.*) as a determined opponent of the Roman missionaries on the Paschal question.

(95) "Ut nulla mulier ibi *semper* intraret; et ab illo die usque hodie nulla mulier in illud monasterium audet intrare." (See

Usher, p. 948.) Hammer translates *semper* by *always*, not knowing that *semper* there means *at any time for ever*, being the same as *in sempiternum*. (Compare with *Not.* 60 to *Chap.* x.)

(96) Ware says, (*Antiq. cap.* 29.) that he lived there about the end of the 6th century. Harris, (*Bishop at Killaloe*) through some mistake or other, changed *end* into *beginning*. Archdall, (at Killaloe) has copied this mistake. I wish Ware had produced some authority for our Molua having lived in that place at any time. The want of that circumstance would not, however, prevent its church from having been called by his name. Or did Ware mean another Molua? (See below *Not.* 98.)

(97) I say *not improbable*, because we find about those times, other persons called *Lua* or *Molua*. That *Kill-da-lua* is derived from some one of that name was never called in question, until the mighty Ledwich appeared, who, ever anxious to exterminate saints, styles that derivation a *childish analyses*, (*Antiq.* p. 144.) and tells us that "St. Molua is an ideal personage." And why? Because *Kill-le-lua* signifies the church upon or near the water, *i. e.* the Shannon. He ought to have written *Kill-da-lua*. But pray, were there not hundreds of churches near the Shannon and other waters in Ireland; and how has it come to pass that the church of Killaloe alone has got its name from *water*? Will this charlatan maintain, that there is no such family name as *Waters*, and that, wherever said word occurs, it must be understood of the element *water*? Supposing even that his derivation of Killaloe is correct, will it follow that no St. Lua or Molua ever existed? Whence then the name of Clonfert-Mulua, a place known at this very day? The Luanus of St. Bernard must have been a phantom, notwithstanding all the monasteries, which he or his disciples (phantoms also,) had founded. The churches, &c. erected by them must be considered as castles in the air. St. Moëdoc of Ferns, Pulcherius, &c. and even Congall of Bangor must likewise be ideal personages, who, as appears from numberless authorities, were connected with Molua. Who can bear with patience the falsehoods and equivocations of an ignorant scribbler, who, while he never ceased to endeavour to cast ridicule upon Vallancey, a man vastly more learned and honest, as dealing in etymologies, recurs himself to the most extravagant and unfounded ones, whenever it suits his vile purposes to do so?

(98) According to Ware (*Writers*) Molua or Luaid, that is, he

of Clonfert-Molua died of a leprosy. But in the Munster histories referred to by Vallancey (*Law of Tánistry, &c.* in *Collect. Vol. 1.*) it is related, that Molua-lobhar, or the *leper*, was brother to Aodh-Caomh, king of Cashel, or all Munster, and son of Conall the grandson of Carthan Fionn, who had been baptized by St. Patrick. Aoad-Caomh and Molua-lobhar, were contemporaries with Brendan of Clonfert. The same account is given of Molua-lobhar also by O'Flaherty, (p. 389) who distinguished him from Molua of Clonfert-mulua, as appears from the manner in which he speaks of the latter at p. 381. If the latter had been brother to the king, such a circumstance would not have been omitted by the author of his Life; and, instead of his parents being called *generous* or distinguished, (See *Not. 85*) some higher epithet would have been applied to them. Next comes an essential difference founded on the one, Molua-lobhar, being expressly represented as the son of Conall, while the other is called son of Carthar or Coche. If they were distinct persons, as there is every reason to think, it may be fairly admitted, that the surnamed *Lobhar* was the founder of the church of Killaloe. In the above mentioned tract (*Law, &c.*) he is called the first bishop of Killaloe; but it would have been more correct to give him only the title of abbot. A *Lugar Lobhar* is named in the Calendars at 11 May. (*AA. SS. p. 628*) Might he have been Lua or Molua-lobhar? The whole subject is so obscure, that I cannot form any decisive opinion on it. Supposing that these Moluas were different, yet they were contemporaries; and hence it may be easily accounted for, why they have been sometimes confounded together.

(99) *AA. SS. p. 585.*

(100) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 210.*) assign his death to A. D. 605 (606); Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) to 608; Ware (*Writers*) to 609. Archdall, (at *Clonfert-mulua*) having stumbled on a passage of the *AA. SS.* where Lactan, abbot of Clonfert-Molua, is said to have died in 622, makes Molua also die in said year.

(101) See Cumman's Paschal Epistle, (*Sylloge, &c.*) in which he is called *Lugidus*.

§. VIII. Next after Lugeus, or Molua, is mentioned Ludeus. It is probable that the name ought

to be read Lugdeus, in which case he might have been one of the St. Lugads of those days, perhaps that of Lismore in the Hebrides, who died in 589. (102) As to Moditeus, who follows him in the list, I can scarcely form a conjecture. (103) Cormac is better known, if, as appears most probable, he was the Cormac Hua Liathain, who is often mentioned by Adamnan, under the surname of *nepos Liathain*, and is generally supposed to have been a disciple of St. Columba. (104) His being called a descendant of Liathain seems to indicate that he was of the sept of the Hua Liathains, in the now county of Cork (Barrymore, &c.) If so, he must have left his own country and settled elsewhere, probably in the now county of Mayo; whereas we find him setting out from that country on one of his voyages in quest of a desert island. (105) We may also admit, that it was in some part of said country that he established a monastery; for although no particular account of it has reached us, it cannot be doubted that he founded one somewhere or other, (106) It is related of Cormac, that he, and some companions of his, sailed three times in search of some uninhabited spot in the ocean, adapted to the accommodation of a religious community, but without being able to discover one. (107) In the second of these voyages he was obliged to take shelter in one of the Orkneys; (108) and in the third, being driven for fourteen days to the Northward, he was in danger of being lost until, the wind having providentially changed, he was enabled to get out of those high latitudes. (109) It was probably after these fruitless expeditions that he founded his monastery. At what time he died I cannot discover. (110) His memory was revered on the 21st of June. (111) Colman, who is placed next to him in the class, was very probably the bishop Colman, founder of the see of Cloyne. It is true, that there were about those times several other holy men of that name; (112) but such of

them, as we have any account of, flourished at periods later, more or less, than that of said class. (113) Accordingly we may fairly suppose that St. Colman of Cloyne was the person alluded to. He is said to have been of the royal blood of Munster by his father's side, whose name was Lenin or Lenine, and brother to one of the St. Brigids. (114) He is sometimes surnamed *Mitine*, (115) whence it may be justly inferred that he was a native of the country called *Muscrighe Mitine*, now Muskerry in the county of Cork. (116) The time of his birth cannot be ascertained; but it was probably about the year 522. His early years seem to have been dedicated to the study of poetry, and we are told that he became domestic poet to the prince Aodh Caomh, who was raised, about the middle of the sixth century, to the throne of Cashel, and that he was present, together with Brendan of Clonfert, at his inauguration in Magh-femyn, between Cashel and Clonmell. (117) Colman, following the advice of Brendan, soon after renounced his worldly pursuits, and is said to have repaired to the school of St. Iarlath of Tuam. (118) Some writers have called Colman a disciple of St. Finbar of Cork; a statement, for which there is not the least foundation. (119) Of any further transactions of his, or at what precise time he became bishop of Cloyne, I am not able to give an account. He died, according to some, in the year 601, and according to others, in 604. (120) The day of his death was the 24th of November. (121) Among several works, which, it is probable, were composed by Colman, I find only one particularly mentioned, viz. a metrical Life of St. Senan, of Inniscathay, written in Irish, and in a very elegant style. (122)

(102) 4 Masters and A.A.S.S. p. 198. This Lugadius, *alias*, Molugedus, Molugadius, &c. whose death is assigned to the 25th of June, a. 588 (589), is mentioned in several Calendars, and in some of them with great praise. In one of those drawn up by Aengus he

is called *lucerna Lismori de Albione*. It is very probable, that he was the same as Luguid one of the 12 companions of St. Columba. (See *Not.* 148 to *Chap.* xi. and *Tr. Th.* p. 481.) Archdall places him at Lismore in co. Waterford. Had he looked into *Tr. Th. ib.* he would not have fallen into this mistake. Whether he was bishop or only abbot in the island of Lismore, Colgan does not undertake to decide. Usher thought (*p.* 958) that Ludeus might have been the same as Lugad Laithir the messenger of St. Columba. (See *Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xi.) But, besides his not having been as celebrated as Lugad of Lismore, it seems that he was not old enough at the period of the second class of saints to be reckoned among them.

(103) Usher (*p.* 958) threw out a *quaere*, whether Moditeus might have been a St. Medocius, of whom he says a Life is extant. I cannot find any thing concerning such a Life or Medocius himself. There is a considerable difference between the two names. Moditeus is most probably a compound one, made up of Mo and Diteus. Might Diteus be a contraction of Diernitius or Dierniteus? If this be allowed, it may be supposed that Moditeus was either Diernit of Inis-clothrann, of whom above, *Chap.* x. §. 3. or Diernit of Glean-Ussen, *ib.* §. 14.

(104) I do not find sufficient authority for making Cormac a disciple of Columba. Adamnan seems to speak of him as merely a friend of his, and reckons him (*L.* 3. c. 17.) among the founders of monasteries in Ireland. Yet O'Donnel represents him (*L.* 2. c. 64.) as having been for some time abbot of Durrough, in which case he should have belonged to Columba's institution. Hence Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 360.) has given him that title. It is, however, very odd, that Adamnan never alludes to it, and that he should have joined him with Caineach and others, as persons who had establishments of their own.

(105) Adamnan (*L.* 1. c. 6.) introduces Cormac as sailing "ab illa regione, quae ultra Modam fluvium sita Eirros Domnonn dicitur." Moda is, as Colgan justly observes, the river Moy, and Eirros, &c. the now called *Irros*, &c. that is, *Erris*. Usher having read, in his copy of Adamnan, *Cirros*, instead of *Eirros*, fell into a mistake (*p.* 959.) with regard to Moda, thinking it might be the Modona of Ptolemy, or the river Slaney of Wexford, and that *Cirros*, as he called it, was somewhere near said river.

(106) See *Not.* 104.

(107) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 6.* The phrase used by him here and elsewhere is, that Cormac was searching for *Eremum in Oceano*. Perhaps his meaning was not such, as I have endeavoured in the text to explain, but that those voyages were undertaken for the purpose of discovering some particular island, the existence of which Cormac had heard of, in the same manner as Brendan is said to have sailed in quest of an unexplored island or country.

(108) See *Not.* 162. to *Chap.* xi. (109) Adamnan, *L. 2. c. 42.*

(110) O'Donnell says (*L. 2. c. 64.*) that Cormac died at Durogh, but does not specify the time. I wish we had better authority for Durogh having been the place of his death. See *Not.* 104.

(111) *Tr. Th. p.* 489. and *AA. SS. p.* 360. This date for his festival shows, besides other circumstances, that Cormac Hua Liathain was different from St. Cormac or Corbmac, whose Life Colgan has at 26 March. In some respects their history seems to agree. If the former Cormac was of the Hua Liathain of Munster, we have one point of coincidence; for the latter was a native of that province; next, both of them lived in the sixth century. Then it is stated that the latter left his own country for the sake of leading a religious life, and went to the now county of Mayo, where he established a monastery on the banks of the Moy. (Compare with *Not.* 105.) But in every other respect the accounts differ. Nothing is said of the latter having visited Columbkille, nor of any voyages made by him, &c. &c. He is represented as of the Eugénian line of the royal house of Munster, and is said to have been in Connaught before the year 537 (538). For we are told, that on his way to Mayo he called at the court of Eugene Bel, son of Kellach king of Connaught. Now Eugene Bel was killed in that year, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan. (*AA. SS. p.* 755.) There are indeed some circumstances mentioned in Corbmac's Life, which would bring his times down to a rather late part of the seventh century. Colgan thinks that they are interpolations; nor shall I endeavour to reconcile these anachronisms. Let it suffice to observe, that, unless we are to reject what is stated in this Life of his having been a brother, and apparently an elder one, of St. Evín of Ros-mio-trevin (see below *Chap.* xiv. §. 3.) Corbmac must have lived in the sixth century. In the transactions attributed to him I find nothing worthy of particular notice, at least, that can be depended

upon. Even the day of his death is doubtful. According to Colgan it was either a 26th of March or 13th of December.

(112) Usher (*p.* 960) makes mention of Colman of Dair-mor, Colman-Elo, and Colman Dub-culinn. The two former were, as will be seen lower down, later by some years than so as to be reckoned among the saints of the second class. And as to Colman Dub-culinn, he was still much later; for it can scarcely be doubted that he was bishop Colman son of Cuidel dubh, whose death, as Usher himself tells us, (*p.* 964) is assigned in the Annals of Ulster to A. D. 653, and who was abbot of Clonard and afterwards bishop, according to the 4 Masters and Colgan, (*AA. SS. p.* 406.) who place his death in 652, and spell his father's name not *Cuidel-dubh*, but *Hua-Tel-duibh*. Usher seems not to have been acquainted with the history of Colman of Cloyne.

(113) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 247.) marks the respective years, in which nine or ten Colmans died. All these dates, excepting that of the death of Colman son of Lenine, i. e. the bishop of Cloyne, belong to the times of the third class rather than of the second.

(114) *AA. SS. p.* 104. Colman is there called *frater germanus superioris S. Brigidæ*, that is, of a just before mentioned St. Brigid virgin, daughter of Lenin, who was revered on the 6th of March in the church of Kill-naninghean. Smith in his pitiful account of Colman, (*Hist. of Cork, Vol. i. p.* 142.) translated *frater germanus* "cousin german," and *superioris S. Brigidæ* "the celebrated St. Bridget of Ireland," that is, of Kildare. A school boy could scarcely have fallen into such mistakes. Colgan's text is as plain as possible. Having mentioned Brigid, daughter of Lenin, he proceeds immediately to her brother Colman. Surely, even without the help of the context, Smith might have easily known, that Lenin's daughter could not have been Bridget of Kildare, and that the sixth of March was not the day of this great saint's festival. And was he so ignorant of Latin as not to know the meaning of *frater germanus*? From what Colgan adds concerning Kill-naninghean it seems that it was somewhere in the now county of Wicklow. (See Archdall *ad loc.*)

(115) See *AA. SS. ib.* (116) See *Not. 74 to Chap. vi.*

(117) Vallancy, *Law of Tanistry, &c.*

(118) Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 309) deduces from a passage of a *Life of Brendan* by Magraidin, that Colman studied under Iarlath.

Yet the matter is far from being clear. Magraidin says, that Brendan, (not when a boy, as he tells us, see *Chap. x. §. 7.*) going from Munster to visit Iarlath, met a man named Colman son of Lenin, and advised him to do penance, telling him that he was called by God to the way of salvation. To make an incidental observation, this statement shows that Brendan was then not a boy, but a respected man, and, as he certainly was, older than Colman. But it is not quite plain from what follows, that Colman accompanied Brendan to Iarlath's monastery. Be this as it may, Colgan was strangely mistaken in placing Colman at that school about the beginning of the 6th century, and at a time when he was a grown up man, as if he could have afterwards lived until 600 (601), the year, to which Colgan himself repeatedly assigns his death. (Compare with *Not. 140 to Chap. x.*) Magraidin adds, "This Colman son of Lenin was distinguished among the saints by his life and learning. He was the founder of the church of Cloyne, a celebrated cathedral in Munster."

(119) Ware is, as far as I know, the author of this opinion. Having found a Colman among the real or pretended scholars of Finnbar, he supposed him to be Colman of Cloyne. That Colman is not called *son of Lenin*, by which appellation Ware constantly distinguishes the bishop of Cloyne, but Colman *de Doirondhuncon*. (*AA. SS. p. 750.*) Usher has (*p. 971.*) two Mocholmogs, or Colmans, among Finnbar's disciples, one the son of Gillem, and the other surnamed *Cainnich*. The son of Lenin is not mentioned any where as one of them. Colman of Cloyne was, I believe, older than Finnbar.

(120) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 247 and 539*) have A. 600 (601). Ware A. 604. (*Antiq. cap. 29. and Bishops at Cloyne.*)

(121) Colgan, quoting (*ib. p. 104.*) several martyrologies and calendars, says that Colman's festival is celebrated on the 24th of November in the church of Cluain-uambachtr (Cloyne) in the district of Uibh-Liathain. How Ware (*loc. cit.*) happened to assign his death to the 4th of November, I do not understand; but this date is certainly wrong, whereas Colman's festival has been, and is still, held on the 24th. Harris (*at Cloyne*) makes a silly addition to Ware, as if there might have been two Colmans sons of Lenin, one who died in 600 (601) on the 24th of said month, and

was revered at Cloyne, and the other the Colman of Ware. Now it is evident, that although Ware's and Colgan's dates differ, they were treating of one and the same person viz: the Colman son of Lenin and bishop of Cloyne. Smith (*Hist. of Cork, Vol. 1. p. 142.*) having copied that trash of Harris, adds from himself, that, according to the Calendar of Cashel, &c. referred to by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 310*) the bishop Colman died on the 4th of November. What a strange want of correctness! In that very passage Colgan has not the 4th but the 24th of that month. In a similar strain of inaccuracy Smith quotes (*p. 141*), as if from Magraidin, some words by Ware, which he subjoined to the passage from Magraidin given above *Not. 118.* Uibh-Liathain, in which Cloyne was situated, is the territory alluded to in *Not. 105.* and has been called, at least a part of it, until a late period, also *O* or *Hua Liathain, al. Leathan.* (See Smith *ib.* and *p. 41.*) -

(122) *AA. SS. p. 539.*

§ IX. The history of Necessan, who is named after Colman, although he had been prior to him in the order of time, has been sketched already. (123.) We shall now proceed to Lasrean, who was undoubtedly the celebrated St. Molaise of Devenish. (124) Although this saint was greatly respected both before and after his death, yet his history is but little known. (125) He was son of one Natfraich, and a native, it seems, of some part of Connaught. (126) Nothing else occurs concerning him, until we find him at the school of Finnian of Clonard, among whose chief disciples he is particularly mentioned. (127) It was probably soon after leaving said school that he retired to the island Daimh-inis, now Devenish, in Lough Erne, (128) where he erected a monastery, which became very famous, and continued to be so for many centuries. He was certainly settled there some years before Columbkille's departure from Ireland in 568. (129) Molaise is said to have formed a rule for his monastery, (130) and was considered as one of the principal abbots of his time. He was visited by divers holy men of that period, among

others by St. Aidus bishop of Killare, (130*) and was held in such estimation, that to do the honour to the see of Clogher, it has been pretended that he became bishop of it. (131) A journey of his to Rome is spoken of, (132) for which there is no foundation, except his having been confounded with his illustrious namesake of Leighlin. The year of his death is uncertain, it being assigned by some to 563 (564), and by others to 570 or 571. (133) As to the day, there is no question, it having been a 12th of September. (134) Whether or not St. Molaisse was succeeded at Devenish by a St. Natalis, has been inquired into elsewhere. (135) Barrindeus, who follows in the second class, was of the Niall family, if, as there is every reason to believe, he was the same as Barrinthus or Barrindus, who is mentioned in the account of the voyages of St. Brendan. (136) He governed a monastery at Drumm-cuillin, now Drumm-cullin, in a part of the ancient Meath, adjoining Munster, now called the barony of Eglish, and which in those days belonged to the Southern Nialls. (137) I do not find any thing further concerning his transactions, unless I should amuse the reader with an account of his supposed voyage to a western country or great island, and his travels therein, prior to the expedition of Brendan. (138) Barrindeus died on the 21st of May, (139) but in what year I cannot discover. (140)

(123) *Chap. xi. §. 6.*

(124) *Molaisse* or *Molaisse* the same as *My Laisre*. Usher was right (p. 961) in supposing that the Lasean of the second class was he of Devenish. The St. Lasearian, Laseian, or Molaisse of Leighlin belonged to a later period. Laseian, disciple of St. Columba. (See *Not. 179 to Chap. xi.*) was not celebrated enough to be particularly named in that list; nor was Lasean abbot of Drumling, of whom *ib. Not. 80.*

(125) Ware mentions (*Writers, L. i. c. 13. al. 15.*) a, so called, Life of his, and Colgan also had a copy of it. From some scraps

quoted by him, (*Tr. Th. p.* 209 and 461) it seems to be not a biography, but a mere panegyrical discourse pronounced on the day of his festival. And hence it is, I suppose, that they have given us so little concerning the transactions of this saint.

(126) He is constantly called the son of Natfraich. As to his having been a native of Connaught there is a passage of the *AA. SS. p.* 389. in which the virgins Osnata of Gleandallain, either in Carbria or Breffnia and Muadhnata of Caille in Carbria are said to have been sisters of Molaisse of Devenish. Carbria is the now Carbury of Sligo. Hence we may infer, that his family was either of that country or of some other not far distant part of Connaught. This supposition is confirmed by what we read in the Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns, (*cap.* 7.) concerning his having been a companion of Molaisse, before the latter went to Devenish. Now Maidoc was of a family of Breffny. Hence it is very probable, that Molaisse was also from that country. It is true, that in this narrative there is an anachronism; for Molaisse was already an abbot, when Maidoc was no more than a boy. Yet this does not invalidate their having been natives of the same territory.

(127) Finnian's Acts, *cap.* 19. and elsewhere *passim*.

(128) We read in Maidoc's Life (*cap.* 7.) "B. Lasserianus ad aquilonalem plagam Hiberniae se conduxit, et construxit clarissimum monasterium in stagno Erni nomine Daimh-inis, quod sonat latine *Bovis insula*."

(129) However silly the story of Columba's having been ordered by Molaisse to leave Ireland, (See *Chap.* xi. §. 11.) yet it presupposes, that he was a renowned abbot about 461, the year of the battle of Cul-dremni, and consequently one not of new standing.

(130) Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 26. at *Fermanagh*. In *Tr. Th. p.* 605. Molassius is reckoned among eight chief authors of monastic rules in Ireland. Yet it may be doubted whether this Molassius was not the one of Leighlin.

(130*) Life of Aidus, *cap.* 37. (131) See above *Not.* 5.

(132) *AA. SS. p.* 222.

(133) The 4 Masters and Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 192.) have 563 (564); Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) 570, following one date of the Ulster Annals, which elsewhere place Molaisse's death in 563 (564). But, instead of 570, Usher ought to have said 571, as

this was in fact the same as the 570 of the Annals; and accordingly Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 26) has A. 571. Whether this date or 564 be the true one I am not able to decide.

(134) Colgan and Ware *loc. citt.*

(135) *Not.* 53. to *Chap.* ix.

(136) See *Not.* 108 to *Chap.* x. Barrinthus is called (*AA. SS.* p. 721) *nepos Neill*. Colgan adds, (p. 725.) that he was of the branch of Conal Gulbanius.

(137) Usher quotes (p. 962) the following passage from the *Life of St. Carthagh of Lismore*; "Druim-cuillin, quod est in confinio Mumoniensium et Lageniensium et nepotum Neill; sed tamen est in terra nepotum Neill, in terra quae dicitur Fearceall." We have often met with Fearceall or Fercall. It was a territory of S. Meath belonging to the Neills, of which the barony of Eglsh forms a part. Drumcullin in said barony is well known at this day. (See Seward *ad loc.*) Archdall has it there, but, as if through fear of being mistaken, gives it to us again, together with its abbot Barrindeus, in Westmeath. Surely he ought to have known that, as Druim-cuillin was near the frontier of Munster, it could not have been in any part of Westmeath.

(138) *AA. SS.* p. 721. *seqq.* See also *Not.* 108 to *Chap.* x. The Western country, in which Barrinthus is said to have travelled, is called "Terra repromissionis sanctorum, quam Dominus daturus est successoribus nostris in *novissimo tempore*." There is a curious coincidence between this passage and the great emigrations to America in the late times, in which we live.

(139) *AA. SS.* p. 725.

(140) Usher says (*Ind. Chron.*) that Barrindeus flourished in 591. But, if he was an abbot at the time Brendan is supposed to have undertaken his great voyage, he must have flourished much earlier, and we may conclude that he was dead long before said year.

§ x. Who the Coeman was, whose name now occurs, it is perhaps impossible to determine, as there were several saints of that name in those times. Coeman, a brother of St. Coemhgen or Kevin, is said to have been abbot at Airdne-Coemhain (141) near Wexford. He must, as brother to Coemgen,

have flourished during the period of the second class. To this period belonged also St. Coeman one of the disciples of Columba of Tirdaglas, and abbot of An-natrim in the now Queen's county, (barony of Upper Ossory) and contemporary with St. Fintan of Clonenagh. (142) He was not only abbot, but apparently the founder of that monastery, (143) where he spent the remainder of his days in great sanctity, and died highly respected on a third of November. (144) The year of his death is not known. (145) Another Coeman, said to have been called also Com-man, is spoken of as living in those times; and were we to believe some accounts, from him Roscommon, where large grants of land were made to him, got its name. But the little I find related of him is of so pompous and vague a nature, that it cannot be depended upon. (146) Next come Cemanus and Conanus, (147) the former of whom was probably one of the Coemans of that period, but which of them I cannot point out. (148) Conan is sufficiently well known, (149) and is mentioned in several calendars by the name of *Conan-Dil* or *Cónna-Dil*, that is, Conan the beloved. He was of the Tyrconnel line of the Nialls, being son of Tigernach, who was a great grandson of Conal Gulbanus. Hence it follows, that he was a relative, although somewhat distant, of Columbkille. From his having been only the fourth in descent from Conal Gulbanus, it is natural to conclude, that he lived in the sixth century. Conan governed a monastery, (150) probably of his own foundation, at Cnodain near Easruaidh (Astrath) on the North bank of the river Erne in the now county of Donegal. According to some accounts he became bishop at Easruaidh, where his festival was celebrated on the 8th of March, the anniversary of his death. (151) As to Endeus, who is mentioned after Conan, it can scarcely be admitted that by that name was meant the great St. Enda of Arran, whose history has been already given. (152)

Considering the time at which he died, (not long after 540) it is more probable, that the Endeus of the second class was a different person. We find an Enna or Endeus, a disciple of Columb-kill, and abbot at Imleachfoda, now Emlaghfad in the county of Sligo. He is usually called son of Nuadan, and his memory was revered on the 18th of September. (153) Nothing occurs to prevent our supposing that he was the saint alluded to in the list. Aedus or the bishop Aidus has been treated of above in this chapter. (154) Byrchinus must have been one of the distinguished men of those days, usually known by the name of Berchanus or Berchan. (155) St. Mobhy Clairineach, of whom we have seen already, (156) was called also *Berchan*; (157) and I am greatly inclined to think, that, as he was a much respected holy man, he is the person alluded to under the name of Byrchinus. (158) Or we may suppose, that he was the Berchan, a contemporary of St. Coemhgen, in whose Acts he is spoken of as having lost his sight, and being endowed with the gift of prophecy. (159)

(141) *AA. SS. p. 584 586.* Archdall (at *Airdne-Coemhain*), referring to these very pages, makes Coemhan brother to Dagan. He looked over them in too great a hurry. Dagan is there exhibited, in as plain a manner as possible, not as brother but nephew to Coeman, having been son of his sister, Coemaca. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L. 2. c. 54.*) Coeman of Airdne-Coemhain is said to have been brother to St. Attracta, and consequently of a Connaught family. Following this statement, Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 177*) contradicts what he has in *AA. SS. ib.* concerning Coeman, and tells us, that the brother of Coemhgen was Coemen of Enach-truim. He adds that Coeman brother of Attracta, and called of *Airdne-Coemhain* was perhaps the Coeman, to whom the church of Kill-coemain was dedicated in one of the Arran isles, called from him *Ara-coemain*, now Ardoilen. O'Flaherty in a MS. note (at *Tr. Th. p. 177*) maintains that the Coeman of Airdne-Coemhain was the brother of Coemhgen, and that he was also the one of Kill-coemain. Whether he was bro-

ther or not of Coemhgen, he was certainly the person revered in that church; whereas both there and at Aairdne-Coemhain his festival was held on the 12th of June. (See *ib.* and *AA. SS.* p. 715.) The name *Airdne-Coemhain* has a reference to an Arran or Aran island; for *Airdne* or *Airne* is the oblique case of *Aran*. The monastery near Wexford got that name from having been founded by, or dedicated to, a Coeman, who was well known in the isles of Arran. The only question now remaining is, whether he was the brother of St. Coemhgen; and there appears to be better authority for this opinion than for that, which makes him brother of Attracta.

(142) See *Chap. x. §. 13.* and *ib. Not. 232.* Usher (*p. 962*) laid down Coeman of Enach-truim, now Annatrim, as the Coeman named in the list, but afterwards introduced another Coeman, as will be seen lower lower down. Colgan in his perplexed account of divers Coemans (*Tr. Th. p. 177*) calls him brother of St. Coemhgen. (See *Not. prec.*) That he was not is evident from a passage in the Life of Fintan of Clonenagh (*cap. 3*) where Fintan's two fellow students under Columba of Tirdaglas are mentioned, viz. Coeman of Enachtruim and Mocumiu, who succeeded Columba. Mocumin was a brother of St. Coemhgen. (*AA. SS. p. 586.*) Now, if Coeman also had been a brother of his, would not the author of Fintan's Life have, when touching on Coeman and Mocumin, have remarked that they were brothers, as they must have been in case each of them had been a brother of Coemhgen?

(143.) In Fintan's Life (*cap. 3.*) Coeman is called *pater sanctus monasterii Enach-truim*. The title of *holy father* seems to indicate, that he was the author or founder of it. This is much more credible than that Pulcherius, as is said in his Life, (*cap. 12*) founded this monastery, and afterwards made it over to Coeman. Pulcherius was much younger than Coeman, and if, as can scarcely be doubted, the latter was at Annatrim soon after the death of his Master Columba, which occurred in 552, (See *Chap. x. §. 13.*) it cannot be admitted that said monastery was founded by Pulcherius, who was not perhaps born at that time, or, at most, was then a mere boy. Hence I think, that Archdall among some other mistakes (at *Annatrim*) was wrong in attributing it to Pulcherius, and that Harris was right in making

Coeman its founder. The authors of these lives were too apt to assign to the particular saints, whom they meant to panegyryze, foundations, that belonged to others.

(144) *AA. SS.* p. 597.

(145) The death of Coeman of Enachtruim is by a strange mistake assigned to A. 550 in the third Index to *AA. SS.* with a reference to p. 192. In this page we merely find a quotation from Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) who says that said Coeman flourished in 550.

(146) Colgan appears not to have known any thing about a Coeman or Comman of Roscommon in those days, except what he met with in Usher, (p. 1066) who, searching for the Coeman of the second class, gives, from a so called Life of his, an account of him, in which he is said to have been of a royal family of Ulster, son of one Fealcon and Scribside. It is added, that he studied under Finnian of Clonard, and that he was sent by him to preach in Connaught. If so, he lived in the sixth century, and hence he appears in Usher's *Ind. Chron.* at A. 540. But neither in Finnian's Life, in which his proceedings in Connaught are related, nor anywhere else, is there any mention of this disciple, or of his preaching in that country. Many a scholar, who was never at his school, has been given to Finnian, *ex. c.* Carthagh of Lismore, who was scarcely born when Finnian died. Then we are told, that the king of Connaught was so pleased with him, that he made him a grant of the entire beautiful valley of Ross, which, by adding his name to it, was afterwards called *Ross-Comman*, and in which he erected a famous monastery. Who does not see that grants of this kind smell of times later than the sixth century? Ware (*Ant. cap. 26*) has Coeman at Roscommon, and says that he flourished in the year 550. His only authority was, I believe, that of the Life quoted by Usher. Archdall adds (at *Roscommon*) that this Coeman wrote a monastic rule, which was very generally observed in Connaught. Strange that this rule is overlooked by so many of our old writers! That there was a Coeman or Comman at Roscommon is well known; but he lived much later than the times we are now treating of. Archdall says, that he was succeeded by Aodan, and then tells us that Aodan died in 777. A fine leap from 540, in which, according to himself, Coeman flourished! Comman of Roscommon was undoubtedly no other than the bishop Comman of that place, who died in 743 or 746. His monastic rule, called

the *Law of Comman and Aodan*, was received in three parts of Connaught in 771, (Ware, *Writers at Coman*.) This is the Rule attributed by Archdall to the pretended much older Comman. Even Ware was so led astray by the story of Comman having been a disciple of Finnian, that he admitted two Commans, at Roscommon, one in the 6th century, and the other, framer of the Rule, in the 8th.

(147) In the London edition of the *Primordia*, (p. 474) owing to errors of the press, instead of *Cermanus* and *Conanus* we find *Ceranus* and *Comanus*.

(148) *Ceman* or *Keman* is nearly the same as *Coeman*. The spelling it *Ceman* was perhaps for the purpose of distinguishing one Coeman from another. Usher's conjecture that *Ceman* might have been the same as *Comin*, *al.* Baithen the successor of Columbkil in Hy, cannot stand, whereas the names are much different from each other.

(149) Usher, not finding any St. Conan of that period, threw out (p. 962) a conjecture, that by Conan of the class might have been meant Comain surnamed *Brece*, who died in 615. But, independently of other considerations, the names are too different to allow us to suppose that Conan and Comain were one and the same person. Had he seen the account, imperfect as it is, of Conan given by Colgan, (*AA. SS. ad 8 Mart. p. 563.*) he would not have been thus puzzled.

(150) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 489*) reckons Conan or Conna-Dil among the disciples of Columbkil. If so, his monastery would have been of the Columbian order. The thing is not improbable; but Colgan gives no authority for his position.

(151) See *AA. SS. p. 563.* (152) *Chap. VIII. § 7. x. §. 13.*

(153) *Tr. Th. p. 490.* Compare with *Not. 88. to Chap. VIII.*

(154) § 2.

(155) In the third Index to *AA. SS.* there are several Berchans. But in the passages referred to the times of most of them are not marked. For instance a Berchan of Inis-rocha in Lough Erne is mentioned, p. 713, without any time being assigned, except the day of his commemoration, the 24th of November. Archdall adds from himself, that Berchan lived about the beginning of the sixth century. How did he find it out?

(156) *Chap. x. §. 14.* (157) See *Not. 240. to Chap. x.*

(158) The only objection to this hypothesis is, that, if we are to believe the 4 Masters, Mobhy died in 545, and consequently

very soon after the commencement of the second class of saints. I doubt, indeed, of his having died so early; but if he did, he must have finished his career at an early age, and consequently might have been reckoned in the second class as well as his fellow student Kieran of Clonmacnois, who died in 549. For in that case Mobhy, *al. Berchan*, was too young to have been placed among the saints of the first.

(159) See Usher, *p.* 963 and *Ind. Chron.* where he says, that Berchan flourished A. 570.

§. xi. Having now gone through, as well as I was able the history of the saints named in the second class, excepting only what belongs to the latter days of Columbkille, I shall proceed to give an account of some of the many others, who, as our author says, belonged to it, although he has omitted their names. We have met with several of them already, that is, holy persons, who flourished between about 542 and the close of the sixth century; and as much has been stated concerning them as was necessary. Yet some still remain, whose transactions cannot be passed over in silence. To begin with St. Fintan of Clonenagh the celebrated master of Comgall of Bangor, (160) he was a native of Leinster, and son of Gabhren and Findath, both Christians. On the eighth day after his birth he was baptized at a place called *Cluain-mhic-trein*, whence it appears very probable that Fintan was born in the neighbourhood of Ross. (161) The time of his birth is not known; but it must have been a few years after 520. (162) He received his first education under the holy man, by whom he had been baptized, and, when arrived at a certain age, attached himself to St. Columba son of Crimthann, with whom he remained, until, by his advice, he established himself at Cluainednach, now Clonenagh, where he founded a monastery. (163) Fintan was only a young man, when he set about this foundation; (164) but it must be supposed that he was not less than 23 years of age, in which case we may assign its commencement to about A. D. 548. (165) Yet, young as he was, his reputation for sanctity soon

spread far and wide, so that numbers of persons from various parts of Ireland flocked to Clonenagh, and became members of his institution. His monks not only lived by the sweat of their brow, but cultivated the ground with the spade or hoe, not having as much as a cow to assist them in their agricultural labours. The discipline of the house was in every respect exceedingly severe; (166) and the fasting part of it seemed almost intolerable, even to some very holy men, on whose interference Fintan somewhat relaxed it, though not with regard to himself. (167) Among the persons, who applied to him for admission into his monastery, is mentioned Brandubh a holy bishop from Hy-kinselagh, who waited upon him in the monastery of Achadh-Finglaiss in the district of Hua-drona (Idrone), where Fintan then happened to be. On Brandubh's declaring his wish to spend the remainder of his days at Clonenagh, Fintan advised him to remain at Achadh-Finglaiss, where the discipline was less strict than in *his own* monastery of Clonenagh; an advice, to which the bishop humbly submitted. (168) It is related that Cormac a young prince, son of Diarmad king of Hy-kinselagh, was kept in chains by Colum or Colman king of North Leinster, (169) who intended to put him to death, and that St. Fintan, having gone with some of his disciples to this king's residence for the purpose of procuring the deliverance of Cormac, so terrified Colum by his miraculous powers, that he gave up the young prince, who, having afterwards ruled Hy-kinselagh for a considerable time, ended his days in the monastery of Bangor. (170) Fintan was gifted also with a prophetic spirit, an instance of which is stated on occasion of his having happened to hear an unworthy priest offering the sacrifice, at which being horror-struck he foretold, that said priest would abandon his order and habit, and returning to the world die in the midst of his sins. (171) Columbkill is said to have had such an esteem for Fin-

tan, that he directed a young religious, named Columbanus, of the district of Laighis (Leix), who was returning from Hy to Ireland to take him for his spiritual director and confessor. Accordingly Columbanus waited upon him, and told him what Columbkil had said. Fintan requested that he would not mention it to any other person during his life time, and died very soon after. (172) A little before his death, which, as appears from what has been now stated, was prior to that of Columbkil, (173) he appointed, with the permission and benediction of the brethren, and of other holy men who had come to visit him, Fintan Maeldubh his successor as abbot of Clonenagh. (174) Then blessing his people, and, having received the Lord's sacrifice, he departed this life on a 17th of February. (175) His name is mentioned with particular respect, in various martyrologies, both foreign and Irish.

(160) See *Chap. x. §. 12.* Colgan has (at 17 Feb.) a Life of Fintan, which he thought was written very soon after his death. It would be easy to show, if necessary, that in this he was mistaken. It is, however, a very respectable tract, of a correct biographical kind, and bears marks of considerable antiquity.

(161) In the Life published by Colgan the place of Fintan's birth is called simply Cluain; but in another, which he quotes, (*Not. 4. ad loc.*) it is *Cluain-mhic-trein*, i. e. Cluain of the sons of Trein. Now the ancient name of Ross (in Wexford) is *Ros-mhic-trein*. Hence it may be justly inferred, that said Cluain and Ross lay in one and the same district.

(162) Columbkil, who was born in 521, is spoken of as a young man at a time, in which Fintan was considered as a boy. *Life of Fintan, cap. 2.*

(163) We have already seen, (*Not. 233 to Chap. x.*) that Fintan, not Columba, was the real founder of this monastery, as is most clearly expressed in his Life, (*cap. 5.*) where we read, that Fintan "*habitavit ibi, et vitam durissimam tenuit, et monasterium famosum illius coepit edificare.*" The author then observes, that *Cluain-Ednech* means in Latin *latibulum haederorum*, the retired

spot covered with ivy. Clonenagh is now a village in the barony of Maryborough, Queen's county.

(164) See Life, *cap.* 5.

(165) If it be admitted, that Fintan, as being younger than Columbk-kill, was born in 525, he would have been 23 years old in 548. The foundation of Clonenagh cannot be placed much later than this year, consistently with Comgall's having been there as a disciple of Fintan. Compare *Not.* 192. and 199 to *Chap.* x.

(166) See *Cap.* x. §. 12.

(167) See above *Not.* 79.

(168) Life of Fintan, *cap.* 20. From this narrative it is evident, that Colgan (*A.A. SS. p.* 355) Harris and Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) are wrong in representing Fintan as abbot of Achadh-Finglaiss. Had he been such, would he have spoken of it as one distinct from his own? Or would the discipline there observed have been different from that of Clonenagh? Hence it appears, that Fintan was merely a visitor there. Who was its abbot I cannot discover. Colgan says (*ib.* 354) that it was not far from Sletty. If so, it was more probably in the part of Idrone (co. Carlow) west of the Barrow than in that to the east of it, where it is placed by Archdall. As to Hy-Kinselagh, see *Not.* 45 to *Chap.* vi.

(169) This Colman died in 576 (577), 4 Masters and *A.A. SS. p.* 354.

(170) Life of Fintan, *cap.* 18. Compare with *Not.* 202 to *Chap.* x.

(171) *Ib.* *cap.* 16.

(172) *Ib.* *cap.* 22. Colgan thought, that this Columbanus was the Columbanus Mocu-loigse, afterwards a bishop in Leinster, for whom Columbk-kill had a great regard. (See *Not.* 182, to *Chap.* xi.) His being of Leix agrees with the surname *Mocu-loigse*; but it is not easy to reconcile this hypothesis with the circumstance of Mocu-loigse having died a bishop prior to the death of Columbk-kill, unless we should suppose that he died very soon after his promotion. The Columbanus, who called on Fintan, appears as a young man, *juvenis*, and that a short time before Fintan's death. Now Fintan is spoken of as an old man before he died; and it is therefore probable that he reached the age of about seventy, and died about 595 (See *Not.* 165), or two years sooner than Columbk-kill. It is true that *juvenis* may be understood of a person near 30 years of age, and that said Columbanus might

have become a bishop soon after the death of Fintan, and have died not long after. Yet, on the whole, it appears more probable, that the bishop Columbanus was a different person, although they were both natives of the same country.

(173) Usher in his conjectural manner assigns, (*Ind. Chron.*) without any authority, Fintan's death to A. 603. Archdall (at *Clonenagh*) amidst a heap of blunders says, that he died before 590. He followed an error of the press in *AA. SS.* p. 485, where 590 appears instead of 592, which Colgan has (*p.* 355.) when treating expressly of Fintan. To understand this, it must be observed, that from the circumstance of Fintan having died before Columbkil Colgan concluded, that his death was prior to either 592 or 597. He mentions 592, because it is the date (a wrong one indeed) assigned by the 4 Masters for the death of Columbkil, and which Colgan himself rejects elsewhere; whereas, as will be seen, its true date is 597.

(174) Life of Fintan, *cap.* 24. Fintan Maeldubh was a native of the neighbourhood of Cashel on the North side, *de regione Eoghanach Cassil*, and, as stated in the Calendar of Cashel, one of the masters of St. Fechin. He died in 625 (626); and his memory was revered on the 20th of October. (*AA. SS.* p. 355.) Archdall is intolerably incorrect with regard to the first abbots of Clonenagh. Having said that it was founded by Fintan, he makes him be succeeded by Columba, (son of Crimthann) thus directly contradicting his master Colgan in the very passage to which he refers. Then after Columba he makes Fintan, son of Gabhren, the next abbot. Surely the poor man, if he only knew how to read, might have seen, that this son of Gabhren was the very Fintan, who, according to himself, founded the monastery. Next after him he places another Fintan, son of Crimthann, for whom he refers to Usher, without marking where, as in truth he could not. There was no Fintan, son of Crimthann, at Clonenagh, although Ware (*Writers cap.* 13. *al.* 15.) mentions such a person from a corrupt Life of Fintan. (See *AA. SS.* p. 353.) The son of Crimthann was Columba the master of its founder. Archdall adds, that this pretended Fintan, son of Crimthann, was also bishop of Clonfert, and died on the 17th of February. Now this Fintan, bishop of Clonfert, (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 356) concerning whose times we know almost nothing, was Fintan Corah, and

died on a 21st of February. Not content with all this blundering, he assigns the death of this Fintan of his to A. D. 603. And why? because Usher says that Fintan of Clonenagh (whom he never calls son of Crimthann) died in the said year. At length Archdall condescended to mention Fintan Maeldubh as successor to his Fintan, son of Crimthann. Thus out of two Fintans viz. the founder, called the son of Gabhren, and Fintan Maeldubh his immediate successor, he made out four; 1. a Fintan in general. 2. Fintan son of Gabhren. 3. Fintan, son of Crimthann. 4. Fintan Maeldubh. And it is curious to see with what composure he refers on these and numberless other occasions to Colgan, Wafe, Usher, 4 Masters, &c. &c. for facts and dates, which they never even thought of. I suspect that, to help him in his citations, he employed some blockhead of a clerk, who threw together such dates, &c. as first fell in his way, without inquiring to what circumstances they were relative.

(175) *Life, &c. cap. 24.* Archdall, having bungled so much concerning the Fintans, could not but bungle also as to the day of this saint's death. He says, that he died on the 13th of March, and for this learned reason, that the *AA. SS.* to which he refers, assign his death to the 13th *Cal. Mart.* Bravo! But finding that Colgan modernized that date into Feb. 17. he tells us, that Fintan, son of Gabhren, died on this day, to which he affixes also the death of his Fintan son of Crimthann.

(176) See *AA. SS. p. 356.* In one of them he is called a bishop, but in the others, more correctly, only a priest.

§. XII. Another Fintan, usually called Fintan of Dunbleische, flourished in those times. (177) He was of a noble family of Ara-cliach, (178) and is said to have studied for some time under Comgall of Bangor, on which occasion he became acquainted with Finnian of Maghbile. We find him afterwards at a place called, from his name, Kill-fintain, (179) somewhere in Munster. Thence he went to Dunbleische in the district of Cuanagh (now Coonagh, Limerick) where he seems to have spent, with some companions of his, the greatest part of the remainder of his life. He died on a 3d of

January. An eminent saint of this period was Ruadan, founder of the monastery of Lothra (Lorrah) in the county of Tipperary. (180) He is said to have been of noble extraction ; but I am not able to tell where his family resided or where he was born. His birth, however, must be assigned to the early part of the sixth century, whereas he studied under Finnian of Clonard; and was reckoned among his chief disciples. (181) He was abbot of Lothra before the death of Kieran of Saighir, (182) and had probably founded it about the year 550. (183) He died in 584, (184) and his festival was held on the 15th of April. (185) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, concerning which let others inquire. (186) Another of the distinguished disciples of Finnian was Sinell, son of Maynacur or Moenach, and abbot of Cluain-inis in Lough Erne. (187) Accordingly he flourished in the middle and latter half of the sixth century, and must have lived until, at least, 597 ; whereas that was the year in which the great Fintan Munnu, after having spent eighteen years under Sinell in Cluain-inis, went over to Hy. (188) This saint's memory was revered on the 11th of November. (189) In another island of the same lake, Inis-muigh-samh (Inismacsaint) Nennidh Lamhdearg, also a principal disciple of Finnian, and who became a bishop, established a monastery, perhaps as early as 534 or 535, the time about which, it seems, Kieran of Clonmacnois repaired to it. We have already seen (190) that this Nennidh was confounded with Nennidh Lamh-ghlan, and have given elsewhere (191) as much of his genuine history as is known. Among those eminent scholars of Finnian is mentioned Mogenoch Kille-comly, who was most probably the Genoc a Briton, who followed him to Ireland. (192) I cannot discover any thing particular concerning him, except that, if he was the same as a Mogenoch, bishop of Kill-dumha-gloinn, his memory was revered on the 26th of December.

(193) As to the holy virgins of this period, besides some already treated of (194) we find two very distinguished ones, both of the princely house of Orgiel and relatives of Enda of Arran. The first was St. Carecha, who died, in 577 (578) on the 9th of February, (195) after having governed a nunnery in some part of either the now county of Galway or that of Roscommon. (196) The second was St. Maugina of Clogher, for whom Columbkil had a particular regard, and whom he called a *holy virgin*. (197) Her death may be assigned to about the end of the sixth century, (198) and to a 15th of December. (199) It is not improbable, that she had some religious establishment at Clogher; but we have not sufficient authority for deciding on this point.

(177) Colgan has (at 3 January) a sort of Acts of this Fintan. They are so interspersed with fables, that little or no dependence can be placed on them.

(178) See *Chap. vi. §. 8.*

(179) Probably Killfinan in the county of Limerick.

(180) In the barony of Lower Ormond.

(181) Acts of Finnian, *cap. 19.* (182) *AA. SS. p. 463.*

(183) Compare with what has been said of the times of Kieran, *Chap. x. §. 2.*

(184) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* and Ware, *Antiq. cap. 26. at Tipperary.*

(185) This was the day, at which Colgan intended to publish the Acts of Ruadan. (See *AA. SS. p. 398* and 465.) Ware (*Writers*) assigns for his festival the 17th of April.

(186) See Ware (*Writers*,) &c.

(187) Archdall calls it Clinish. Sinell is named as a disciple of Finnian in the Acts of the latter, *cap. 19.*

(188) See Fintan Munni's Life quoted in *Tr. Th. p. 480* and Usher, *p. 1063.* The year of Fintan's visit to Hy was that of Columbkil's death, viz. 597.

(189) *AA. SS. p. 398.* Archdall (at *Clinish*) was wrong in writing *October* instead of *November*.

(190) *Chap. ix. §. 5.*

(191) *Chap. x. §. 11. and ib. Not. 170, 178.*

(192) *See Chap. ix. § 8.*

(193) *AA. SS. p. 405.* Colgan (*ib.*) makes them one and the same person. (Compare with his 13th and 24th Notes to the Life of Finnian, *ib. p. 398.*) Now the Mogenoch of Killydumba was reckoned among the pretended nephews of St. Patrick, (*ib. p. 362, &c.*) But, as St. Patrick had no nephews in Ireland, it can scarcely be doubted that this was the Mogenoch, a disciple of Finnian, and so far I think Colgan was right. Killydumba, or Killydumbagloin was in the district of Bregia (somewhere in the tract from Dublin towards Drogheda.) Colgan thought, that the Mogenoch of that place, although allowed by himself to have been a follower of Finnian, was a nephew of St. Patrick! But he does not say, as Archdall does, (*ad loc.*) that St. Patrick founded a church there. Whether *Kill-dumha-gloin* or *Kille-comly* were the names of two different places or only of one is not worth inquiring into.

(194) *See Chap. x. §. 14.*

(195) *Tr. Th. p. 381 and AA. SS. p. 128.* Carecha is usually called sister of Enda. If so, she must have lived to a prodigious age. For Enda was very old himself when he died. Now it is difficult to suppose, that she survived him by about 35 years, as must have been the case, if she lived until 578. (See above § 10.) Then it is said that a sister of Enda was married to Aengus king of Cashel. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 7.*) who was killed in 490. In the supposition that Carecha was also a sister of his, these circumstances and dates cannot be reconciled. Perhaps she was niece to him, and even so must have been very old in 578. In our ancient genealogical tables *sister* often occurs for *sister*, or some other name of relationship, in the same manner as *son* does for *grandson* and even *great grandson*. Instead of 9th of February, Archdall has, (at *Cluain-boreain*) perhaps through an error of the press, the 5th.

(196) The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 193*) call Carecha the virgin of *Cluain-buirren*. Colgan tells us, (*p. 713.*) that this place was in Hy-maine, a territory partly in Galway and partly in Roscommon. Yet (*ib.*) he says, that Carecha was of Dergain, which in his Topographical index he places in Connaught. The 4 Masters (*loc. cit.*) represent her as merely surnamed *Dergain*.

But I believe the surname meant the place where her nunnery was situated. In the Life of St. Ita (*cap.* 17.) we read that Aeneas, abbot of Clonmacnois arrived, on some occasion, at the nunnery of St. Chinreacha Dearcain, "*ad monasterium sanctae virginis Chinreacha Dearchain pervenit.*" It is clear from other circumstances, that by *Chinreacha* was meant Carecha. And the text seems plainly to indicate, that the spot, on which the nunnery stood, was called *Dearcain* or *Dergain*. The matter can be easily settled by supposing that Dearcain lay in a small district of the name of *Cluain-buirren*.

(197) Adamnan *L. 2. c. 5.* See *Not.* 180 to *Chap.* xi.

(198) Adamnan (*ib.*) relates, that St. Columba foretold that Maugina would survive the recovery there spoken of by 23 years. This must have been said after A. D. 563; for Columba delivered that prophecy in Hy. Supposing it to have been in 570, the death of St. Maugina would have fallen in 593.

(199) Colgan observes (*AA. SS.* p. 713.) that a St. Mugania was revered on the 15th of December in the church of Cluain-buirren. It is very probable, that she was the same as Maugina, who might naturally have been greatly respected there, not as once abbess of the nunnery, but as a relative of St. Darecha. It is evident from Adamnan, that Maugina's residence was Clogher; and Archdall had no right to say that she flourished at Cluain-buirren.

§. XIII. To return to the history of the great St. Columba, we have seen, (200) that, having inaugurated Aidan king of the British Scots, he became much attached to that prince. His wish to help in adjusting a dispute between him and Aidus the monarch of Ireland, together with some other motives, (201) induced Columba to go to Ireland in the year 490, at the time of the assembly of the States general of the kingdom at Drumceat. (202) Having set out in a small vessel, accompanied by Aidan and some monks, (203) it is said that, when out in the wide ocean, they were overtaken by a violent storm. (204) On its having abated they entered Lough Foyle, and landed in some part near the mouth of

the river Roe. (205) He then went to Drumceat, which was not far distant, and, if we are to believe some accounts, was, on his appearing in the assembly, received very disrespectfully by the monarch Aidus, who considered him as an opponent of his and an adherent of Aidan. (206) Be this as it may, Aidus soon discovered, that Columba appeared there as a peace-maker, and thenceforth treated him with the greatest attention and veneration. A subject of no small national importance was then under discussion. Aidus and a majority of the members were so dissatisfied with the privileged order of the antiquaries and poets, (207) that their suppression and even banishment was on the point of being decreed by the assembly. It was alleged, that their numbers were become so great as to be over-burden-some to the kingdom, and that their impertinence was intolerable, inasmuch as, while they praised beyond measure such nobles as paid them well and pampered them, they vilified and abused others more worthy, merely because they refused to comply with their exorbitant demands for remuneration. (208) Columba allowed that such abuses should not be tolerated, but argued against the total abolition of the order, on the ground of its being in itself a useful institution. He was listened to; and it was agreed, on his motion, that they should be reduced to a limited number, proportionate with the various provinces and districts, and that they should be bound to observe certain regulations, which were then made relative to their conduct and the duties they had to perform. (209) This matter being thus decided, an inquiry now took place into the claim of Aidan, who pretended that he had a right to the sovereignty of the territory of Dal-rieda (in Antrim,) (210) and that said territory should be exempt, if not in the whole, at least in part, from paying tribute to the king of Ireland and from such burdens as other parts of the kingdom were subject to. (211) He founded

this claim upon Dalrieda's being the hereditary principality of his family from as far back as the time of Carbre, surnamed *Rieda*, from whom it, as well as the sept of the Dalriedans, had got its name. (212) Aidus, on the contrary, notwithstanding that dynasty having been raised to a throne, insisted on considering said territory as a part of the Irish kingdom, and on its being as much subject to himself, and as chargeable with imposts, &c. equally with the rest of Ireland, as it had been to and under his predecessors, before the Dalriedans became sovereigns in Britain. The question being referred to St. Columba for his arbitration, he declined giving any opinion on it, but referred them to a St. Colman, son of Comgellan, (213), a man deeply versed in legal and ecclesiastical learning, who decided against Aidan on the consideration that Dalrieda being an Irish province could not but be subject in every respect to the king of Ireland. He proposed, however, a privilege in favour of the British Dalriedans, that, as descended from those of Ireland, they might hold them as allies, so that the Dalriedans of both countries should, in case of just necessity, assist each other, if called upon. This compromise was agreeable to both parties, (214) and nothing now remained to be done by Columba at Drumceat, except to procure the liberation of the young Ossorian prince Scanlan, whom Aidus had then with him in chains at that place. (215) The saint's exertions for this purpose were fruitless, and all that he could do was to give his blessing to Scanlan, and to encourage him to keep up his spirits; telling him, that he would survive Aidus and rule Ossory for many years. (216)

(200) *Chap. xi. §. 15.*

(201) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 2.*) reckons among these motives the saint's desire to obtain the liberation of the young prince Scanlan of Ossory. This is indeed a fact, Columba did, as will be seen, exert himself for that purpose. In this supposition we may also

admit what O'Donnel has about messengers having been sent to him from Ireland to request his attendance at Drumceat. The relatives of Scanlan were, I dare say, the persons by whom they were deputed. Had they no other claims on Columba's condescension, they might have applied for a recommendation to his friend St. Caineach, who was particularly attached to Colman the father of Scanlan. (See above *Not.* 77.)

(202) Drumceat or Druiimcheat, which Adamnan has latinized into *Dorsum-cette*, was situated, as Colgan observes, (*Tr. Th.* p. 375.) in the Ulster Kiennachta, now Kenaght in co. Derry. He had a copy of the Acts of that assembly, and tells us that it was attended not only by Aidus and many other kings and nobles, but likewise by the heads of clerical bodies. (See also Keating, *B.* 2.) Accordingly Columba had a right, as chief of his Irish establishments, to a seat in it. Colgan says (*ib.*) that it was held in 586, but corrects himself p. 452. and in his *Ind. Chron.* by assigning it to 590, which is the true date, as O'Flaherty remarks, (*MS. Not. ib.* p. 341. and *Ogyg.* p. 475) and as appears from Usher, (*Ind. Chron.* ad A. 590) Smith (*Life of St. Columba*, p. 23.) was strangely mistaken in placing it in 574, for which he refers to the Annals of Ulster. He confounded the year of king Aidan's inauguration, which was 574, with that of the assembly. Campbell went still more astray (*Strictures*, &c. p. 112.) where he says, that it was convened by the monarch Hugh in 558. What a shame not to have known, that Hugh did not become monarch until several years after that date, and Columba was not at Hy until 563! How then could he have come thence to Drumceat in 558?

(203) There is a ridiculous story, not worth refutation, of Columba having been accompanied by, at least; 20 bishops; 40 priests, 30 deacons, and 50 minor members of the clerical order. (See O'Donnel, *L. 3. c. 3.*) and Colgan's note.

(204) O'Donnel, *ib.* This was probably the storm, during which Adamnan says that St. Caimnech prayed for Columba and his companions. See *Not.* 182. to *Chap.* xi.

(205) O'Donnel says, (*L. 3. c. 4.*) that they sailed up that river until they arrived at a place very near to Drumceat. He attributes this to a miracle; and indeed a sailing for some miles against its current might be considered as such. (See Mr. Sampson's *Stat.*

S. of Londonderry; p. 123, *seqq.*) Adamnan makes no mention of it; and, as we are not bound to admit miracles on such authority as O'Donnel's, we may be allowed to suppose that Columba landed near the river's mouth. On the whole, however, it appears, that the saint's object on sailing from Hy was to proceed straight to the assembly, to show which I have touched upon these minutiae.

(206) O'Donnel, *L. 3. c. 5.* where he adds a silly fable, concerning the insolent behaviour of Conall, one of the sons of Aidus, towards the saint and his followers. On the other hand he says, that Domnald, another son, treated Columba with great distinction, and placed him on his own seat in the assembly. This is an altered account of a fact, related by Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 10.*) viz. that Domnald, being still a boy, was brought by his attendants to Columba, then at Drumceat, to be blessed by him, and that the saint, having complied with their request, foretold that Domnald would in the course of time become a celebrated king (of all Ireland,) and that he would live to a good age, and die peaceably in his bed.

(207) The nature of that order is described by O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 2.*) in the following words. "The Irish nation, greedy of praise, and very solicitous about its antiquity, was accustomed, from its very origin, to hold in high estimation professors of antiquities, of whom there was a great number, and who in heathen times were called *druids* (wise men), *soothsayers*, and *bards*, but after the establishment of Christianity, *antiquaries* and *poets*. It was their official duty to describe the transactions, wars, and triumphs of kings, princes, and heroes; to accurately register the genealogies and prerogatives of noble families; and to mark and distinguish the boundaries of districts and lands. They wrote in verse preferably to prose, partly for the purpose of helping the memory, and partly to guard against the diffusiveness of prosaic writing." In this account of their functions there appears nothing relative to religion; and hence it seems that the author alludes only to such parts of their original institution as they were allowed to retain in Christian times. If they were, as he says, called *druids* and *soothsayers* (*vates*) at a former period, they had, although different from the British and Gallic druids, (See *Not. 45. to Chap. v.*) a sort of jurisdiction as to religious concerns. But I am inclined to think, that O'Donnel was wrong

in placing the bards in the same order with the druids, &c. The Irish druid was, as we have often seen, (ex. c. *ib.*) the same as the *magus*. Now we find, that as far back as the first preaching of St. Patrick the poets, or bards, were distinguished from the *magi*. Thus Dubtach and his scholar Fiech were poets, (See *chap. v. §. 5.*) not *magi*. Of these poets we meet with several, in the early times of our church, who became Christians, while a converted *magus* is hardly to be found. The bardic order comprized the antiquaries and historians, as their writings were, in general, of a poetical kind. I scarcely doubt, that at all times this order of men was distinct from that of the druids or *magi*; and, in fact, Ware has treated of them as separate classes. Toland also (*History of the Druids*) held them as distinct orders, and is followed by Walker (*Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, p. 29), who tells us, however, that the bards used to be taught by the Druids (*ib. p. 6.*), and that some of their Ollamlis or Doctors were admitted into the order of the Druids (*ib. p. 8.*). Be this as it may, the orders were still different. Some writers say that the Bardic order was, according to a regulation of the famous Ollam Fodla, hereditary, yet under certain conditions. (See *ib. p. 26.*) I believe this is no better than some other stories about Ollam Fodla. It does not accord with what Keating says (*B. 2. p. 31. ed. A. 1723*) of the vast numbers, who *entered themselves* into said order.

(208) Smith (*Life*, &c. p. 93.) has misrepresented the charge against the bards, as if it were for their having been adverse to the views of those, who propagated the Christian religion, and connected with the Druids. No such charge was brought against them, nor any other than the one I have mentioned. He misrepresents also the punishment intended to be inflicted upon them. He says it was death. Now O'Donnel expressly states, (*L. 3. c. 2.*) that it was to be only exile or deportation, *exilio vel exterminatione*. Perhaps Smith thought, that *exterminatio* signifies *death*.

(209) O'Donnel, *L. 3. c. 7.* (210) See *Not. 24 to Chap. v.*

(211) Smith (*Life*, &c. p. 23) says, in direct opposition to every authentic account, that the question between Aidan and Aidus was concerning the right of succession to the Scottish throne. What did he mean by *Scottish throne*? If that of Ireland, Aidan never thought of claiming it. If the small one of Argyle, &c. Aidus did not pretend to deprive Aidan of it. See below *Not. 214.*

(212) Carbre-Rieda lived in the third century, and was son to Conar or Conary II. monarch of Ireland. In reward of his military services a grant was made to him of the territory afterwards called *Dal-rieda*, that is, *of the descendants of Rieda*. He was the ancestor of Loarn and the other founders of the Scottish kingdom in Britain, who, even after their being settled in that country, continued to be called Dalriedans; and we find their new kingdom sometimes named *Dalrieda*, as if we should say the kingdom of the Dalrieda or Dalriedans. As Carbre-Rieda was son to Conar, hence some old Scotch writers speak of their kings as of his race, *de semine Chonare*. See on these subjects Usher, (*p.* 610 *seqq.*) and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg. vind. chap.* 12.

(213) Of this Colman I find no further account, except that he died in 620 (621). *Tr. Th. p.* 352.

(214) O'Donnel, *L.* 3 *c.* 10. Notwithstanding the manner in which O'Donnel has stated the whole question, and his giving us clearly to understand, that the claimed immunity from tribute regarded merely the territory of Dalrieda in Ireland, Keating pretends, (*B.* 2. *p.* 90.) that Aidus insisted on receiving tribute from that of Britain, as if the Scoto-British kings owed homage to the monarch of Ireland. He adds, (what does not distinctly appear in the wretched English translation) that Aidan's predecessors, although sovereigns in their new kingdom, paid a certain tribute, as vassals, to the Irish kings; and that Aidan was the first of that dynasty, who, with the assistance of St. Columba, became totally independent of the crown of Ireland. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. p.* 475.) agrees with Keating, and, in proof of his assertion, refers to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L.* 2. *c.* 135.) in which it is said that the prophecy concerning the posterity of Fergus, viz. that they would enjoy sovereignty, was fulfilled in Aidan, son of Gauran, who seized upon the kingdom of Albany. (See also Jocelin, *cap.* 137.) From this he argues, that the predecessors of Aidan were a sort of provincial kings or limited sovereigns, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Irish monarchs, and that Aidan was the first really independent king of the British Scots. Chalmers (*Caledon, Vol.* 1. *p.* 283,) follows O'Flaherty, merely adding an *it seems*, and refers likewise to Adamnan, from whom, however, no argument can be drawn on either side of the question. Adamnan give the title of *king* not only to Aidan, but likewise to his predecessor Conall. (See *L.* 1. *c.* 7.) It may be that, as Aidan was the most

renowned of those early kings of British Scots, he was the only one supposed, by some persons, worthy of being mentioned as the first Irish king of Albany.

(215) Keating amidst a heap of fables (*B. 2. p. 32.*) concerning Scanlan says, that he was confined at a place called *Dubh-Eaghluis* in Inishowen, and that the saint went to visit him there. Now Adamnan, who mentions the visit, (*L. 1. c. 11.*) expressly states, that it took place at Drumceat. Keating calls Scanlan king of Ossory; but it is evident from Adamnan (*ib.*) that Scanlan had not reigned before he became a prisoner. Besides, his father Colman, as Adamnan calls him, was still alive. (See above, *Not. 49.*) O'Donnel is more correct as to this point than Keating. He relates (*L. 3. c. 2.*) that the prince of Ossory, whom he calls *Kinnfael*, (probably a surname to Colman) being suspected by Aidus of some act of disobedience, gave up to him his son Scanlan as a hostage for one year, on condition of his being released at the end of it, and of other hostages being substituted for him. At the expiration of the year, Aidus refused to liberate Scanlan, and hence the necessity of St. Columba's application.

(216) Adamnan *L. 1. c. 11.* O'Donnel and Keating have some foolish stories of how Scanlan was, in virtue of certain strange miracles, delivered, in spite of Aidus, from his confinement on the very night after Columba had applied for his liberation. To this and some other stuff, connected with said stories, it is sufficient to oppose the text of Adamnan.

§. XIV. Columba remained at Drumceat but for a short time. (217) Thence he went to visit some monasteries; but how many or which of them were honoured with his presence on this occasion cannot be ascertained; (218) excepting that of Derry, which, particularly as lying at a short distance from Drumceat, he undoubtedly visited, (219) and his favourite monastery of Dairmagh or Durrogh, then governed under him by Lasren, where he spent some months, arranging and regulating various matters relative to discipline. (220) While there, he paid a visit to Clonmacnois, the abbot of which was at that time Alitherus, and was received with the greatest

marks of respect and veneration by the whole community and the people of the surrounding country. Having accomplished, as well as he was able, the objects he had in view in coming to Ireland, he set out on his return to Hy, and when arrived in the northern part of Ulster, had an interview with St. Comgall of Bangor somewhere not far from Drumceat. (221) Thence he went to Coleraine, where the bishop Conall, having collected almost innumerable presents from the people of the vicinity, prepared an entertainment for him. (222) This is the last place where we find St. Columba, until we meet with him again at Hy, attending as usual, notwithstanding his age, to the care of his monasteries and numerous churches. He had often prayed to God, that he would be pleased to call him to himself at the expiration of 30 years from his first arrival at Hy, and accordingly on the day, in which they were completed, viz. about the middle of the year 593, being then at Hy, entertained the greatest hope of his immediate departure from this life. While full of this delightful thought, he was suddenly apprized in a vision that his presence on earth was still necessary for four years longer, at the end of which he would be certainly removed to a better world. (223) When the happy hour was near at hand he conducted himself with the greatest composure, and went, accompanied by his attendant Diermit, to bless the barn belonging to the monastery. This was on a Saturday; and having expressed his joy at there being a sufficient store of corn for the year, he announced to Diermit, with an injunction of secrecy, that said day would be his last in this world, as he was to be called away during the night next after it. The saint then ascended a small eminence, and lifting up his hands blessed the monastery. Thence returning he sat down in a hut adjoining or forming a part of the monastery, and occupied himself for some time with copying part of

the Psalter, (224) and having finished a page with a passage of the 33d psalm (225) he stopped and said; "Let Baithen write the remainder." Afterwards he attended the evening service (226) in the church, and then returning to his cell, (227) sat or reclined himself on his bed of stone, and remaining awake delivered some instructions to Diermit to be communicated by him to the brethren. When the bell rung (228) for midnight prayers, he hastened to the church and was the first to enter it. Throwing himself on his knees, he began to pray. Diermit arriving soon after found him in a reclining posture before the altar, and at the point of death. The brethren now assembling surrounded him, and fell weeping. He opened his eyes and exhibited an extraordinary hilarity in his countenance. His right hand being lifted up, he moved it with the assistance of Diermit, as well as he could, to indicate, as he was not able to speak, his intention of giving benediction to the community, and then breathed his last (229) very early in the morning of Sunday the 9th of June, A. D. 597, (230) and in the 76th year of his age. (231)

(217) Adamnan, *L.* 2. c. 6.

(218) O'Donnel (*L.* 3. c. 15.) mentions Manistir an da slruth, or *Duorum agri rivorum*, (See *Not.* 117. to *Chap.* xi.) as visited by Columba after his having been at the meeting of Drumceat. But, as he spent only *some days* in Ireland at the time of said visit, (See *Not.* 181. *ib.*) it must be referred to some other occasion. Then O'Donnel brings him to the monastery of Snamh-luthir. (See *Not.* 122. *ib.*) Yet it is doubtful, whether the visit to this place might not have been at some other time. It has been said, that St. Columba was at Ballysadare (co. Sligo) at this period; (above §. 1. and *Not.* 14.) and that he then founded the monastery of Drumcliffe, a subject which has been already inquired into. (*Not.* 114 to *Chap.* xi.)

(219) O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 11.*) makes Columba proceed directly from Drumceat to Derry.

(220) Adamnan, *L. 1. c. 3.* Compare with *Notes* 96. and 97. to *Chap. xi.*

(221) Adamn. *L. 1. c. 49.*

(222) *Ib. c. 50.* Adamnan says, that the presents were spread in the court yard of the monastery to be blessed by the saint before being made use of. The text is much confused in Colgan's edition here referred to, but is very clear in Messingham's (*L. 1. c. 19.*). From a monastery being mentioned it is plain, that there was one then at Coleraine, probably founded by the bishop Conall. (Compare with *Not. 257* to *Chap. x.*) This Conall, whom Archdall calls *Eonall* (seemingly an error of the press) was, in all appearance, the immediate successor of St. Corpreus. (See *Chap. x. §. 14.*) Colgan thought (*Tr. Th. p. 380*) that he was a relation of his, and that his memory was revered on the 2^d of April. It was usual, on the arrival or expected arrival of distinguished persons at a monastery, for the people of the neighbourhood to make presents or offerings (*xenia*) towards their being well entertained by the religious, whose means would otherwise have been inadequate to that purpose. Besides what took place at Coleraine, Adamnan (*ib.*) gives us an instance of *xenia* collected, on another occasion, at the monastery, called *Cella magna Deathrib*, when visited by Columba.

(223) Adamn. *L. 3. c. 22.* That the year, in which Columba had this vision, was 593, is clear from his departure from Ireland having been in 563. The day of it was the anniversary of his arrival at Hy; and, if the additional years, which he had to live, were, as the text seems to state, precisely four, neither more nor less, it must have been the 9th of June. For, as will be seen, he died on the corresponding day in 597. Thus then also the day of his arrival at Hy would have been the 9th of June. As to the last four years, supposing even that the time was somewhat more than exactly said number, yet it is clear from Adamnan, that it was not so except by a very few days; and hence it follows, that both Columba's arrival at Hy and the day of the vision are to be assigned to about the middle of the respective years.

(224) *Ib. cap. 23.* A favourite occupation of St. Columba was transcribing books, particularly sacred ones. We find him on

another occasion writing also in a hut. (*Ib. L. 2. c. 16.*) Does this mention of a hut indicate, that the monastery of Hy was originally a sort of *laura*, consisting of separate cells or huts placed around the church? Or was that hut merely an out-office of the house, to which Columba occasionally retired to avoid being disturbed? This is more probable; and we find it remarked, as somewhat singular, that the establishment of Mobhy Clarineach consisted of small huts separated from each other. (See *Tr. Th. p. 396.*)

(225) The passage was this; "Inquirentes autem Dominum non *deficient* omni bono." In the present Vulgate edition we read *minuentur*, instead of *deficient*, as it stood in the old Vulgate or Italic, before some emendations from St. Jerome's revision (not version) were introduced into the text of the psalms. *Minuentur* is one of them. Hence it appears, that down to the times not only of Columba but of Adamnan, the Irish continued to read the old Vulgate, as it existed before the introduction of those corrections borrowed from St. Jerome.

(226) *Ad vespertinalem missam.*

(227) Adamnan calls it *hospitiolum*. He seems to make it the same as the hut, in which the saint had been writing.

(228) *Pulsata personante clocca.* See *Not. 186. to Chap. xi.*

(229) Adamn. *L. 3. c. 23.*

(230) After all that we have seen concerning Columba's arrival at Hy in 563, and his having lived 94 years from that date (See *Not. 76 and 149 to Chap. xi. &c.*) it would be a waste of time to enter into a disquisition concerning various hypothesis assigning his death to some year or other different from 597. Whoever has leisure to inquire into them may consult Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 484. seqq.*) Usher, Ware, O'Flaherty, &c. agree as to 597. It is the date marked in the *Annals of Innisfallen* and hinted at by Bede. The only other year, to which Columba's death could with any plausibility be affixed, is 596. But in opposition to this we have the admitted fact that he died on the 9th of June. Now Adamnan, as we have seen, positively informs us that it was early on Sunday morning; and it is known that the 9th of June fell on Sunday in 597, whereas in 596 it fell on the 10th. In Tigernach's *Annals* (See Usher, *p. 693*) the rest of Columba is said to have been in the night of Pentecost. If Tigernach computed Pentecost, according

to the Roman cycle, he meant the one of 596, which in said year fell on the 10th of June. If the saint died during the night of that Pentecost, how could his death have been constantly assigned not to the tenth but to the ninth of June? Tigernach was probably prepossessed with the idea, that 596 was the real year of his death, as he might have found it marked in some older Annals, which, however, considering their mode of computation, was in fact the same as 597. Then finding that Pentecost fell in 596 about the 9th of June, he supposed it to be the Sunday, on which Columba died. Adamnan, who mentions more than once this obituary Sunday, never calls it *Pentecost*, which, had it been so, he would assuredly have noticed as a very remarkable circumstance, combining the saint's removal to heaven with the celebration of that great festivity. Nor does O'Donnel say any thing about that Sunday having been Pentecost, although he took care to mention said festival on a much less interesting occasion. (See *Not. 76 to Chap. xi.*)

(231) The Annals of Innisfallen have; "A. 597 Quies Columbkille nocte Dominica 5 Idus Junii, anno 35^o peregrinationis suae, aetatis 76^o." Nothing can be more satisfactory on this point than the data laid down by Adamnan; 1st. that Columba was in the 42d year of his age when he first left Ireland; 2d, that after that epoch he lived 31 years. Hence it is plain that, whatever might have been the year, in which he died, he had not at the time of his death completed his 76th year. O'Donnel (*L. 3. c. 57.*) having supposed that the saint was born in 520, and on the other hand having laid down that he died in 597, concluded that this was the 77th year of his age. To prop up this computation, founded on his mistake as to the year of the saint's birth, (See *Not. 76 to Chap. xi.*) he found himself obliged to say, in opposition to Adamnan, that he left Ireland, not in the 42d but in the 43d year of his age. That his authority is not equal to Adamnan's, the reader will easily admit. Bede, who was not bound to inquire into the precise age of Columba, gives him (*L. 3. c. 4.*) 77 full years. That he was mistaken is evident; and I wonder that Ware (*Writers at Columba*) has implicitly followed him.

§. xv. The saint's remains were kept in the church until matins were finished, and then removed to the

cell, whence he had come before his death. His obsequies were celebrated during three days and nights, at the end of which his body was in due form consigned to the grave. (232) It would be superfluous to enlarge on the extraordinary veneration, in which the memory of this great saint has been held not only in the British islands, but in every part of the Latin church. (233) In consequence of his having been the apostle of the northern Picts and the founder of many churches in the territory of the British Scots and in the Hebrides, he possessed an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over those countries, including even the bishops; which singular privilege was, through respect for his memory, enjoyed for a considerable time by his successors the abbots of Hy, although they were only priests in the same manner as Columba himself had been. (234) From this circumstance a strange conclusion has been drawn by some writers, as if Columba and his followers did not admit any essential difference between bishops and priests, without reflecting that, whatever sort of jurisdiction was exercised by the superiors of Hy, belonged to them not as *priests* but as *abbots*, and successors of Columba, and that it had nothing to do with the inherent relative powers, with which bishops and priests are by divine right invested, and which Columba has left us proofs of his having accurately discriminated. (235) Another effect of the great veneration paid to his memory by the churches and monasteries of his foundation or institution was the constancy, with which the greatest part of them, both in Ireland and elsewhere, adhered to the Irish Paschal computation, inasmuch as, in common with all his countrymen, he had followed it during his life time. (236) That St. Columba had drawn up a monastic rule for his institution cannot be doubted. (237) Some other tracts still extant, partly Irish and partly Latin, are attributed to him, the genuineness of which I find no reason for calling in question. (238) As to the

celebrated prophecies under his name I cannot pretend to deliver any opinion. (239) St. Columba was succeeded in the government of Hy, and consequently in the superintendence over the whole order or institution, (240) by Baithen, whom we have often met with, (241) and who survived him only a year, neither more nor less, as he died on the 9th of June A. D. 598. (242)

(232) Adamn. (*L. 3. c. 23.*) From the manner, in which the burial is mentioned, it is difficult to determine, whether Columba's remains were deposited in a particular monument, or, according to the usual mode, in a mere grave or tomb. That he was buried in Hy is beyond any sort of doubt. As to a fable insinuating the contrary, see Usher, *p. 708.*

(233) Besides all the Irish martyrologies and calendars, the Roman martyrology and those of Bede, Usuardus, with many others, (See *Tr. Th. p. 483.*) have St. Columba at 9 June; and in several of them he is named with singular respect. Not only was the day of his death commemorated, but a festival, together with an appropriate office, was established on occasion of the Translation of his reliques, together with those of St. Patrick and Bridget, by order of Pope Urban III. who sent to Ireland Cardinal Vivian for the express purpose of attending at said translation. Usher gives (*p. 889, seqq.*) an account of the whole transaction, and Colgan has prefixed the office to *Tr. Th.* Yet Ledwich writes; (*Antq. &c. Note to p. 55. or, as in 2d. ed. 102.*) "So unfriendly were the Columbean institutes to the cause of popery, that the festival of St. Columba was not permitted to be kept in Ireland till 1741. Burke, *Hib. Domin. p. 22.*" This passage, which is connected with his nonsense and lies concerning the pretended Culdees, of whom elsewhere, betrays so much effrontery and ignorance, that it is difficult to say which predominates most. Can any thing be more flagrantly false, than to assert that no festival was kept of a saint, whom Adamnan over and over calls the patron of the institution, to which he belonged, and which comprized so many churches in Ireland dedicated to him? Or why would his name have appeared for so many centuries back in the Roman and other martyrologies, were it not allowed to keep his

festival? Or would even the translation of his reliques have been annually solemnized, and that in virtue of papal authority? Ledwich refers to Burke, from whom he has stolen many a thing, yet usually taking care, in his malignant manner, to pervert Burke's meaning. Now Burke gives us (p. 22.) a decree of Benedict XIV. issued in 1741, whereby the Masses and Offices for the saints Rumold, Malachy of Armagh, Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, Frigidian of Lucca, Brigid, Pope Celestin I. *Columba*, Gallus, Columbanus, and Dymphna are raised to the rank of *Duplex majus* with regard to Ireland and all Irish establishments *ubique locorum*, to be celebrated as found *already* in approved missals and breviaries. Will it follow, that there were not kept until 1741, any festivals of St. Malachy or St. Laurence, who were both great favourites at Rome, or that the sees of Armagh and Dublin did not until then celebrate their memory? Was it in 1741 that St. Brigid began to be revered on the 1st of February at Kildare and all over Ireland? Or was even the Pope Celestin forgotten until his successor Benedict xiv. took notice of him? But our assuming pseudo-antiquary does not perhaps understand the phrase *Duplex majus*. If not, he is totally unfit for touching on liturgical subjects. Without looking into a breviary, he might have learned it not only from any priest he met with, but even from a sub-deacon, who would have told him that there are various gradations of festivals commencing with *Simplex*, and rising to *Semiduplex*, *Duplex*, *Duplex majus*, *Duplex secundae classis*, and, highest of all, *Duplex primae classis*. These gradations are relative to the various degrees of solemnity, with which festivals are celebrated. And we frequently find that festivals of the same identical saints are, according to the difference of times and places, raised from one class to the other. Thus St. Patrick's day is in Ireland a *Duplex primae classis*, while in the Continent it is placed in an inferior class, and in Italy as low as *Semiduplex*. *Viceversa*, many festivals, which here and there in other countries belong to the highest classes, such as those of St. Dennis of Paris, St. Martin of Tours, St. Ambrose of Milan, &c. are reckoned with us in a lower order, inasmuch as the Irish church had not the same reasons, that others had, for commemorating them in an extraordinary manner. Next it is sometimes thought advisable to raise festivals from a lower class to a higher one, as has been lately done

with regard to the festivals of one or two holy popes of ancient times. Exactly in the same manner Benedict XIV. considered it right, that the festivals, which were already kept, of the saints mentioned in his decree, should, on account of the benefits derived from them to the Irish church, be placed in a higher rank than that, in which they stood before. I am almost ashamed to have gone into this detail; but I was compelled to do so, in order to enable *every* reader to form an opinion concerning the Doctor's false assertion. Yet, by the bye, I cannot believe, particularly as he has seen breviaries and abused them, but that he understood the meaning of said decree. And yet, while inculpating the known truth, he has the audacity to accuse (*p.* 74.) Burke of committing some *wilful* mistakes in certain lessons, which he drew up for Columba's festival. I know there are mistakes in them; but they were not *wilful*, Burke having copied them from O'Donnel. Why did he not deny at once the existence of Columba? But his dear Culdees were in the way. Yet a dull imitator of his, Faber, has done it for him, by telling us, (*Dissertation on the Cabiri, p.* 398.) that our St. Columba was a fictitious dove!!! What times are we come to, when such scribblers are allowed to obtrude their trash on the public!

(234) Bede writes (*L. 3. c. 4.*) "Habere autem solet ipsa insula (Hy) rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi ordine inusitato debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus." What Bede here calls the *province* was comprized in N. Britain and, at most, the Hebrides; and accordingly Notker Balbulus was wrong (*Martyrol.* at 9 June) in saying, that the abbot of Hy was primate of the Irish bishops. (See Usher *p.* 701. and Colgan *Tr. Th. p.* 498.) A similar mistake was committed by Carolus a S. Paulo (*Geogr. sacr. at Hibernia*) in consequence of his having confounded the small island of Hy with Ireland, a strange blunder for a geographical writer, which, however, has been corrected (*Not. ad loc.*) by Holstenius. Usher, (*ib.*) and Bingham (*Origines, &c. B. VIII. ch. 3. sect. 14.*) understand by Bede's province only North Pictland together with Hy; but Colgan adds the territory of the British Scots. According to a passage in the Saxon Chronicle, all the bishops of the Scots (in Britain) were subordinate to, the abbot of Hy.

But Lloyd shews (*On Church government, &c. ch. 7.*) that this is a late interpolation, and maintains that the province, as Bede calls it, was only one diocese, which might have been co-extensive with the whole country of the Northern Picts, and that this diocese was governed by the bishop, who resided in Hy. For, as Usher shows (*p. 701.*) there was in that island not only an abbot, but a bishop. Lloyd adds, that when Bede speaks of *bishops*, as subject in a certain manner to the abbot, he must be understood not of more than one bishop at a time, but of the successive single bishops, who had their seat in Hy. This is a forced explanation of Bede, who plainly intimates, that in what he calls the *province* he supposed there were more than one bishop; otherwise he would have written not *episcopi*, but *episcopos*. If Bede meant to speak of only one diocese and its bishop, surely he would not have said “*the whole province and even the bishops.*” The natural and intelligible mode of expressing himself would have been *the province and even the bishop*. And it is a quibble to say, that there were bishops, one after another, in that one province or diocese. Suppose a person intended to state, that the diocese and bishop of Paris are subordinate to the Pope, would he say, *the diocese and bishops* of Paris? It would be easy to show, if necessary, that there were, in Bede’s time, some bishops among the Northern Picts, and his words are so clear, that Bingham (*B. ix. ch. 6. sect. 18*) refers to them as proving, that there were several. Next it is to be observed, that it would be contrary to every principle of canon law, that the bishop or bishops entrusted with the care of the Northern Picts, would be allowed to reside so far distant from their country as the island of Hy. The fact is, that the bishop stationed in Hy had nothing to do with those Picts. He was placed there for the purpose of performing episcopal functions, when required for the good of the monastery and its members, such as conferring ecclesiastical orders, &c. and had, in all appearance, a superintendence, as bishop, over the other islands, or at least, some of them. Lloyd gives as a reason of the subordination of the bishop residing at Hy to the abbot, that the royalty of the island had been given to Columba by the king of the Picts. Ledwich, following this idea, says (*Antiq. p. 61.*) that the king (Brudeus) granted him the allodality of Hy, *thereby subjecting the bishop to his tem-*

poral power. What has that pretended temporal power of Columba to do with the question of the bishops being subordinate to the abbot? What Bede and others have considered as an extraordinary circumstance, was not that bishops are subject to the temporal power of sovereigns, but that a priest should have a sort of spiritual jurisdiction over bishops. As to the grant of the island, we have seen, (*Not.* 146 to *Chap.* xi.) that it was not made by the king of the Picts.

(235) The respect shown by Columba to the episcopal rank in the person of Cronan has been noticed already. (*Not.* 182 to *Chap.* xi.) I might add the circumstance of his having refused to be promoted to the episcopacy. (See §. 9. *ib.*) Waving this argument, let me ask, why it was thought necessary to have a bishop in Hy, if priests were supposed capable of exercising all, even the highest, ecclesiastical functions? But how, it has been said, could bishops have submitted to the jurisdiction of an abbot, who was no more than a presbyter? Did this question concern merely such bishops as lived in monasteries, it could be easily answered, nor would Bede have looked upon the system as unusual. There were, in his own times, and long before them, several monasteries, the abbots of which held a lower rank, as to holy orders, than some of the persons whom they governed. Many abbots, who were mere laymen, and yet had among their monks some priests, who were bound to observe the rules of the establishment. We frequently meet with bishops, who retired into monasteries, and subjected themselves to their regulations. An instance of this has occurred above (§. 11.) in the case of bishop Brandubh. A practice was introduced of appointing bishops for the accommodation of some great monasteries, to which description of bishops most probably belonged St. Moena of Clonfert. (See *Not.* 117. to *Chap.* x.) This practice was afterwards introduced into other countries; and there is extant a Bull of Pope Stephen II. in favour of the monastery of St. Denis, in which we read; “*Nos etiam idem et habere vobis episcopum per singulare privilegium concedimus, qui de vobis ab abbate, vel a fratribus, in monasterio vestro electus, et a fratribus nostris episcopis de illa regione consecratus, illa vestra monasteria a vobis aedificata provideri, et vice nostri nominis ubi et ubi fuerint regat, et praedicationi tam in ipso vestro monasterio quam in sibi sub-*

jacentibus deserviat." A similar privilege had been granted to the Monastery of St. Martin of Tours. The *Annales Masciacenses*, published by Labbe, have; "Anno 790 Andegarius *episcopus* monasterii S. Martini obiit." (See more in *Ducange at Episcopi*.) That these bishops, although chosen out of the body of the monks by the abbot or the whole community, were treated with particular respect cannot be questioned. Yet they may be said to have been in some manner subordinate to the abbot, inasmuch as they used to act, according to his direction, in certain cases, such as, *ex. c.* conferring orders, higher or lower, on those monks whom he thought fit to select and point out to them. This is not the system, which appeared extraordinary to Bede, but the very different one of an abbot exercising a sort of jurisdiction over bishops, who were neither inmates of his monastery, nor of the class of those bishops, whose functions were confined to monasteries. It seemed to him odd, that the prelates, who governed the sees and churches of the Northern Picts, should acknowledge a certain degree of supremacy in the abbot of Hy. But if the distinction between the power of order and that of jurisdiction, admitted by all the theologians and canonists, be duly considered, the difficulty can be easily solved. The former power is liable to no modification; nor is there any authority on earth, that can add to or diminish the inherent rights annexed to it, or that can, for instance, empower a priest to exercise validly every function, that a bishop can. The case is not so with regard to the power of jurisdiction, which may be extended or curtailed according to circumstances. A person may be consecrated bishop, to all intents and purposes as to the power of order, without possessing any jurisdiction; and we find instances of it in very remote times, such as that of Barsus and Eulogius, two monks of Edessa, related by Sozomen. (*L. 6. c. 34.*) *Vice versa*, a person of the clerical order may, although not actually a bishop, be invested with episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, if he be elected to a see and regularly confirmed, he becomes, prior to his consecration, and while perhaps still only a subdeacon, possessed of the jurisdiction appertaining to said see, and if it be metropolitanical, the suffragan bishops subject to him as if he had been actually consecrated. Several other cases might be adduced, if requisite, to show how bishops may become subordinate, in some respect, to

clergymen of an inferior order. These cases were not as frequent in Bede's time as afterwards. Lloyd mentions (*ch.* 7.) that of the bishop of Oxford, of whom, while in that city, the chancellor of the University and even his deputy take the precedence. It will not now be difficult to understand, how the abbot of Hy, as successor of the Apostle of the Northern Picts, was allowed to retain a certain superintendence over their bishops, who were the successors of those, whom Columba had taken care to provide them with. And it is clear, 1. that it does not affect the question of the real difference between the episcopal and priestly orders; and 2d. that being a singular case, founded on the apostleship of St. Columba, the efforts of Blondel, Selden, Toland, and many Scotch writers, not including Chalmers, (see *Caledon. Vol.* 1. *p.* 321.) to oppose it to the ancient and constantly observed mode of Church government, cannot make the least impression on any unprejudiced mind.

(236) We read in the English translation of Ware's *Writers* (at *Columba*); "The time for celebrating Easter, which he kept, after the custom of his ancestors, on the Lord's day from the 14th to the 20th moon, contrary to the custom of the church of Rome, he *gave in charge* to his successors to observe," Ledwich (*p.* 61.) having picked up what is here said of the *charge*, adds, with profound ignorance, and in direct opposition to Ware, that Columba was a Quartadeciman. The poor man did not know that in the system of the Quartadecimans no regard was paid to Sunday more than any other day as to the celebration of Easter. Bede has exculpated (*L.* 3. *c.* 4.) the Irish from the charge of Quartadecimanism; and their always celebrating Easter on a Sunday shows that, far from being guilty of it, they condemned that system. Of these subjects more elsewhere. To return to Ware, his translator has misrepresented his meaning by the words, *gave in charge*. In the original Latin we have; "*Tempus celebrandi Paschatis—successoribus observandum reliquit.*" This does not imply that Columba issued any injunction as to the observance of the Irish mode of computing Easter, and means no more than that he had observed it himself, and that, as Ware adds, his successors had observed it until A. D. 716. There was no dispute, in Ireland or Britain, concerning this point until several years after Columba's death; and Adamnan relates (*L.* 1. *c.* 3.)

"that the saint, when at Clonmacnois, delivered a prophecy relative to the disagreement, which would take place, after a considerable time, as to the Paschal question." But, so far from even hinting that Columba gave any charge to adhere to the Irish mode, Adamnan himself became one of the most strenuous opposers of it, and induced a great number of the Northern Irish to adopt the Roman computation. In the famous conference of Whitby (see Bede *L. 3. c. 25.*) Colman, who defended the Irish practice, alleged as an argument that Columba and his successors had observed it. He mentions no injunctions; and that there had not been any is evident from Wilfrid's answering, that those holy men followed it, merely because the correct method had not been proposed to them, and that he entertained no doubt of their receiving it in case of their having been acquainted with it. What then are we to think of Ledwich's audacious assertion (*p. 405*) which has been already touched upon, (*Chap. 11. §. 9.*) viz. that Columba gave his dying command to his disciples to continue Quartadecimans!!!

(237) Wilfrid alludes to it in his answer to Colman (See *Not. prec.*) where he mentions the *regulam ac precepta* of Columba and his followers. It is reckoned among eight principal rules formerly observed in Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p. 471.*) Some Benedictine writers would fain make us believe that it was the same as that of St. Benedict. Without recurring to other arguments, the same Wilfrid informs us that it was not; for, as quoted by William of Malmesbury (*L. 3. De Gestis Pontificum*) he says that he was the first, who, on the Scots, that is, his adversaries the Columbian monks, being expelled, ordered the observance of the rule of St. Benedict by the monks in Northumberland. Here again we meet with more of Ledwich's nonsense. Still persisting in his unfounded assertion as to the Irish and Britons having received their faith from the East, he says (*p. 404.*) that they thence received also their monachism, and learnedly tells us, that the seminaries of Columba and Comgall adopted the rule of St. Basil. For this he appeals to a mighty authority in Ecclesiastical history, M'Geoghegan, who somewhere in his *History of Ireland* has a flourish about our Irish monks having perhaps brought from the Eastern countries the rules of St. Anthony, St. Pachomius or St. Basil, ay, and those also of the famous *solitaries* of Mount Carmel

and Thebais. That good man wished to let the world know, that he had heard of such persons, and imagined it would be doing honour to Ireland to associate our monks with such distinguished names. But where did he find that any Irish monks of those old times had travelled as far as Egypt or Palestine or even Asia Minor? Or what necessity was there for going all that way to look for monastic regulations, whereas the fundamental principles of them were well known in Ireland since the days of St. Patrick? The monastic discipline of the Irish was founded on that introduced by our Apostle, although variously modified in course of time, and differed in some essential points from the system not only of the Orientals, but likewise of the Benedictines. (See *Chap.* iv. §. 9. 12. v. §. 15. and *Not.* 52—58. to *Chap.* x.) Ledwich impudently represents (*p.* 406.) Cressy as an impostor for having said that Columba's rule was a rivulet from that of St. Patrick. Ledwich to charge others with the sin of imposture!!! *Numquid diabolus factus est Christianus!* But is it not more rational to suppose that said rule was derived from the system, whether put to writing or not by St. Patrick, which he introduced into Ireland, than to make, without shadow of proof, Columba adopt the rule of St. Basil? Had this rule been received by the Columbian or any other religious institutions of the Irish, surely some mention would have been made of it by Adamnan, or in one or other of the lives of our saints or other tracts, in which the monastic rules formerly observed in Ireland are often spoken of. Now that of St. Basil is never alluded to. Usher (*p.* 919) and Ware (*Writers at Columba*) make mention of Columba's rule as still extant. The former observes that it is written in very old and difficult Irish. There is reason to doubt, whether this be the same as the general rule, which had been framed for his entire institution. Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 471) distinguishes two rules written by Columba, one for his monasteries, and the other for certain brethren living in a desert, which he had a copy of and translated from Irish into Latin. He adds that this seems to be the rule alluded to by Ware. If it was, we may suspect that it was also the one which Usher had seen. But on this point I am not able to decide.

(238) A full account of them may be seen in Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *p.* 471. *seqq.*) and Harris (*Writers at Columba*). Colgan has published three of the Latin pieces, or hymns, the first of which is ra-

ther long, and contains a good deal of biblical and theological learning, commencing with the eternity, unity, and trinity of God, and, after treating of several sacred subjects, terminating with the day of judgment, the resurrection of mankind, and the future state of the just and unjust. The other two are beautiful prayers to the Almighty, written in rhyme. If these hymns be, as in all appearance they are, from the pen of St. Columba, they must be reckoned among the earliest compositions of that kind, and perhaps the earliest known, being more ancient than the specimen quoted by Pelloutier. (See Rees' *Cyclop. at Rhyme*.) There is a fragment of another Latin hymn, which he composed in honour of Kieran of Clonmacnois. Among his lost works was a Life of St. Patrick, which is mentioned twice by the authors of the Tripartite, as having been used by them in drawing up their compilation. Whether it was in Irish or Latin they do not inform us.

(239) Colgan rejects several of them as spurious, while he admits that some others may be genuine. See *Tr. Th.* p. 472.

(240) Bede, having mentioned Hy and other Columbian monasteries, writes; (*L. 3. c. 4.*) "In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insularum, (Hy) in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum tenet." See more in *Tr. Th.* p. 497.

(241) Baithen is the first named among the 12 original companions of Columba. (See *Not.* 148, to *Chap.* xi.) He governed for some time a monastery in the island of Ethica, (*ib.* §. 14.) and must not be confounded with another Baithen or Baitan of those times, of whom we have seen (*ib.* *Not.* 119. He was second cousin to Columba, being the son of Brendan, a son of Fergus, who was the paternal grandfather of the saint. A church in Tirconnel, in which his memory was revered, was called from him *Teagh-basithin*, i. e. the house of Baithen. (*Tr. Th.* p. 480.) Colgan says elsewhere, (*AA. SS.* p. 369.) that he was the founder of it. Archdall has this church in Donegall under the name of *Taughboyne*.

(242) Usher, p. 701. and *Ind. Chron.* Other accounts state, that Baithen survived Columba four years. (*Tr. Th.* p. 498.) But the dates given for his death and that of Columba are so wrong, and the difference between them and Colgan's own computations so irreconcilable, that it is better to adhere to Usher's statement, in which he merely follows the Annals of Ulster.

CHAPTER XIII.

Life of Columbanus—Studies under St. Comgall of Bangor—Goes to Britain and Gaul—Receives assistance from Carantocus, abbot of Salix—Erects the monastery of Luxeu—Works several miracles—Defends the Irish mode of calculating the Easter time, and is persecuted—Remonstrates with king Childeric on keeping concubines—is expelled from his monastery—Conveyed to Orleans to be banished from France—By his prayers restores to sight the husband of a Syrian woman who relieves the necessities of his people—Spends a night at the tomb of St. Martin at Tours—Arrives at Nantes—Foretels the destruction of Theodoric and his family—Embarks for Ireland, but is obliged to put back—Proceeds to the kingdom of Clotharius son of Chilperic—Is invited by the king to settle there, but declines the invitation—Foretels the succession of Clotharius to the kingdoms of Theodoric and Theodebert—Passes through the kingdom of Austrasia on his way to Italy—Stops a while at Mentz—Goes to Arbona near the lake of Constance—Converts some of the Suevi to Christianity—Destroys idols, and converts some of the inhabitants at Bregentz—Founds a monastery there—Advises king Theodebert to embrace the ecclesiastical state, who laughs at the saint, but who being shortly after defeated in battle is compelled to become an ecclesiastic—Arrives at Milan, and is kindly received by Agilulf king of the Lombards.—Confutes the Arians—Writes his letter to Pope Boniface IV. on the three chapters—Founds the monastery of Bobbio—Is invited by Clotharius to resume his convent at Luxeu, but declines the invitation—Dies.

SECT. I.

HAVING now concluded the history of St. Columba, surnamed *Columbkil*, let us proceed to that of his illustrious namesake, generally known by the name of Columbanus. (1) This great man was a native of some part of Leinster, and seems to have been of a respectable family. (2) Of the precise time of his birth we are not informed. According to some accounts it would have been about 559, and, according to others, several years earlier. (3) Having received a good classical education, and, being of a superior genius, made great proficiency in his studies, he began, when arrived at a certain age, to reflect on the dangers of youth, particularly as he was of an exceeding fine form. While meditating on this subject he happened to have a conversation with a religious woman, who cautioned him against the allurements of the world, and hinted that he would do well to quit his native district. He immediately determined on so doing, and, in opposition even to his mother, who did what she could to prevent him, left the province of Leinster, and went to place himself under the venerable Senile, a man celebrated for his piety and his knowledge of the holy scriptures (4) This able master, finding him endowed with great abilities, pushed him forward in his sacred studies, so that in a shorter time than usual he became well versed in them, and, while still a youth, wrote an exposition of the Psalms, and composed some other tracts. Columbanus then resolved on embracing the monastic state, and for that purpose went to Bangor, where he remained many years under the discipline of the abbot St. Comgall, and was distinguished for his fervour and regularity. At length he became inflamed with an ardent wish to retire to some foreign country, and communicated his plan to Comgall, who was at first unwilling to agree to it, as he

did not like to part with a person, in whose society he felt great comfort. Yet reflecting, that Columbanus' exertions might be of great service elsewhere, he acquiesced, and told him he would give him some worthy companions to assist and comfort him in his spiritual expedition. The brethren being assembled, twelve of them were selected or offered themselves to accompany Columbanus. (5) Every thing being now arranged, he and his companions went first to Britain, but remained there only for a short time. They then determined on trying what good might be effected in the Gauls, with the intention, in case their toils in that country should turn out useless, of proceeding to some others. The Gauls, or, as we now call those provinces, France, were then in great need of some holy and resolute missionaries, who would be able and willing to stem the torrent of crimes and vices caused by the irruptions of the northern barbarians, and to rouse the clergy from the torpor and indolence, in which they indulged themselves. (6) Columbanus was highly qualified by his learning, zeal, and courage for this undertaking, (7) and was then in the maturity of his age, being about fifty years old when he arrived in Burgundy. (8) This was, according to the most probable account, in the year 589 or 590. (9).

(1) That *Columba* and *Columbanus* are the same name is universally admitted. Some old writers call Columbkil *Columbanus*; and, *vice versa*, the Columbanus, who is now to be treated of, is sometimes called *Columba*, which was, in fact, his real name, as he tells us himself in his letter on the Three Chapters, where he adds, that in Hebrew it is *Jona*, and, in Greek, *Peristera*. Jonas begins his Life with these words, "Columbanus, qui et *Columba*." We have already (*Not.* 125 to *Chap.* xi.) noticed the mistake of those, who, upon the mere grounds of the identity of name, have confounded these saints together. Having made mention of Jonas, I may here observe, that he lived in the 7th century, and was a monk of Columbanus' monastery of Bobbio as early as the times of Attala his immediate successor. It has been said that

he was a native of Ireland, and a passage in his dedication to the abbots Waldebert and Bolenus seems to favour this opinion; for, apologizing for his want of abilities, he says; “*Nobis ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit.*” But it cannot be reconciled with the manner, in which he speaks of Ireland in the first chapter, and which is like that of a foreigner undertaking to describe it. Thus he observes, that it is *said* to be a pleasantly situated island; “*Insulae hujus situs, ut fertur, est amoenus;*” and adds, that it is inhabited by the Scots, whom he praises in the following words; “*Hanc et Sestorum gens incolit, gens, quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem praepellet.*” Then he says, that Columbanus was of *that* nation. Were Jonas himself an Irishman, he would naturally have said, *our* nation. The Bollandists are right in making him a native of Susa in Italy, whither he tells us (*Life of Attala*, No 9. at 10 *Mart.*) he was allowed by Attala to go, after having spent 9 years at Bobbio, to visit his mother and brother. Mabillon has made the same observation. (*Annal. Benedict. L. XI. §. 17* and *Secul. II. Benedict at Jonas.*) The passage *Nobis*, &c. merely alludes to Jonas having been taught by Irishmen. Mabillon’s edition does not differ, except in some verbal variations and in the division of chapters from that of Messingham. My references are to this latter division. He wrote also the Lives of Columbanus’ disciples, Attala, Eustasius and Bertulfus.

(2) Jonas (*cap. 2.*) ascribes to him what he calls *pubertas nobilis*, by which, in his pompous style, he probably alluded to the saint’s being of noble birth.

(3) The question depends, in part, upon that of the time, in which Columbanus arrived in France, of which lower down. In the lessons drawn up for his office by Burke, he is said to have been born about 539, a date much earlier than that of Mabillon and others, but much more probable.

(4) The venerable man, here called *Senile*, was undoubtedly Sinell son of Maynacur, concerning whom see *Chap. XII. §. 12.*

(5) In the Life of St. Deicolus or Deicola, in Irish, *Dichuill*, (*AA. SS. p. 117.*) it is said that the chief companions of Columbanus were another Columbanus and Gallus with his maternal brother Deicolus. Of the two latter some account will be given

hereafter. As to Columbanus, the other companion, it is sufficient to observe that he continued a simple monk, and died at Luxeu. Some others are mentioned as having been of that party, *ex. g.* Caidoc, Frigor, Rantic, and a Quilian or Kilian. (*Ib. p.* 162.) Lua, who is mentioned by Jonas, (*cap.* 20.) was most probably one of them, as will be seen lower down (*cap.* 12.) He names three Scots or Irishmen, Cominin, Eunoc, and Aequon, besides Gorgan a Briton, as being along with the saint at Fontaines. Fleming, treating (*Commentar. ad Vitam. S. Columbani, Collectan, &c. p.* 320. *seqq.*) of the 12 companions reckons them thus; Gallus, Deicola, Sigisbertus, Columbanus junior, Cummin, Eunoc, Ecconan, Domitalis, Culian, Neemias, Lua or Potentinus, and Florentius or Albeus. But it is very doubtful, whether some of these persons were original companions. Potentinus was certainly with the saint at Luxeu, as will be seen lower down. Fleming's Ecconan or Equonan was the same as Acquon. The account of Sigisbertus, taken from a Breviary of Coire (at 11 July) is rather obscure. He was the founder of the monastery of Desertina in Rhaetia, the now Grison country. It is said, that he followed St. Columbanus from Ireland. If he were an Irishman, we may suppose that he changed his name in the Continent.

(6) Jonas writes, (*cap.* 4.) *A Britannicis ergo finibus progressi ad Gallias tendunt, ubi tunc vel ob frequentiam hostium externorum, vel negligentiam praesulum, religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur; fides tantum remanebat Christiana. Nam poenitentiae medicamentum, et mortificationis amor, vix vel paucis in illis reperiatur locis.*" Those abuses are painted in still stronger colours by the author of the Life of St. Deicolus.

(7) We read in the same Life of Deicolus; "Redemptor mundi Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus—ad repellendas multiformes ignaviae tenebras de occiduis Hiberniae partibus splendidissimum radium Gallicis metis emergi praecepit, beatum videlicet Columbanum, egregium Sestigeroarum omnium patriotam." Baronius writes; (*Annal. &c. ad A.* 612.) "Magno plane Dei beneficio factum apparet, ut vir tantus ex Hibernia in Gallias veniens illustraret temporibus his perditissis Ecclesiam Dei; quem prae excelsum meritis si quis aliqua ex parte exaequet Eliae, haud mea sententia a scopo veritatis aberrarit," &c.

(8) In Messingham's edition of Jonas (*cap.* 3.) Columbanus is

said to have been in his 20th year at the time of his setting out from Ireland. This is a mistake of a copyist. Instead of 20th, must be read at least, 30th, as Mabillon has it, or more probably 50th (see following note.) It is plain that had Columbanus been only in his 20th year at that time, he would have been too young to be a leader of a religious association formed for missionary purposes. He had, most probably, passed that age, when he first went to Bangor.

(9) Were we to follow Jonas, it should be admitted that Columbanus arrived in France before 575 or early in that year; and, in fact, several learned writers, whom it is unnecessary to quote, led astray by his authority, were of that opinion. He says, (*cap. 5.*) that Columbanus was graciously received by Sigebert king of Austrasia and Burgundy. Now Sigibert was killed in the year 575. In the first place we may remark, that Sigebert never possessed the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged to his brother Guntchram or Gontran, and was held by him until 593, the year of his death. (See Henault, *Abregé Chronologique*, &c.) And as to the year of Columbanus' arrival in the kingdom of Burgundy, which was not long after his having reached France, the question relative to it is connected with the inquiry into the time of the foundation of the monastery of Luxeu. Mabillon has incontrovertibly proved, (*Annal. Benedict. L. VIII. §. 10.*) that this was about 590, at which time Gontran reigned in Burgundy and Childebert, son of Sigebert, in Austrasia. Ordericus Vitalis, referred to by Mabillon, places the arrival of Columbanus in the reign of Childebert, without any mention of the kingdom of Burgundy. This kingdom devolved to Childebert after the death of his uncle Gontran; but, when Columbanus arrived in France, he was only king of Austrasia. Usher, following Marianus Scotus, affixes (*Ind. Chron.*) the arrival of Columbanus in Burgundy to A. D. 589; Mabillon and others speak of it as belonging to 590. The difference between these dates is immaterial, particularly if we be allowed to suppose, that this arrival was in the late part of 589. But we find another date assigned by Mabillon himself (*Observat. ad Vit. S. Waldeberti Sec. 3. Benedict. Part. 2.*) where he concludes from a clause in a MS. written by a monk of Luxeu, that Columbanus arrived in Burgundy about 585. Pagi follows this date, (*Critica in Annal. Baron. ad. A. 585.*) and thence lays

down that the saint had spent about five years in that country before he founded the monastery of Luxeu. Yet Mabillon in the Benedictine Annals makes no mention of this date 585, and constantly supposes that Luxeu was founded not many months after the arrival in Burgundy. And indeed there is every reason to think that it was. Besides, several circumstances and dates mentioned, as will be seen in the course of the saint's history, can scarcely be reconciled with that date. We might now guess at the year of the saint's birth, if we were sure that he was only in the 30th year of his age when he left Ireland. For supposing that he set out late in 588 or early in 589, and allowing about a year for his travels and delays in Britain and France before he reached the Voiges then comprized in the kingdom of Burgundy, it will follow that he was born in 559. To this statement, however, there is a very strong objection, founded on its being well known that he lived to a good old age, and most probably to beyond that of 72 years, as will appear lower down. Now, had he been born in 559, he would not have exceeded that of 56, whereas he died in 615. Accordingly Mabillon's emendation of the 20th of Jonas' text into 30th will not do; and the true reading was, I dare say, the 50th, in which case his birth must be assigned to about 539. (See above *Not.* 3.)

§. II. Columbanus and his companions, on their way through France, preached the word of God according as a favourable opportunity occurred, and edified the people by their good example. When arrived in a deserted part of the Vosges they stopped in an old half ruined fort called *Anagrates*. (10) In that wild tract they were soon reduced to the greatest distress, so that on one occasion they had for nine days no other food than the bark of trees and the herbs of the forest. Yet Providence did not abandon them. Carantocus, abbot of the monastery of Salix, (11) was inspired to send them a supply of provisions, which he did by his storekeeper Marculfus, who having delivered them, and received the saint's benediction, spoke, on his return, to every one, in such terms, of Columbanus, that people began to

flock to him from various parts for the purpose of obtaining favours from God through his intercession. Columbanus delighted in solitude, and was often wont to retire to a cavern in a huge rock some miles distant from Anagrates, where all alone he used to spend his whole time in prayer and meditation, occasionally attended by a small boy called Domualis, who served as a messenger between him and the brethren. It is related that, on the boy's happening to complain to him of the great fatigue he underwent in procuring water, Columbanus ordered him to strike the rock, which when he had done, a fountain immediately started out of it, and thenceforth continued to afford an abundant supply. (12) When in that retirement, the saint lived merely on wild herbs and a sort of small apples, which that desert produced. The number of persons, who came to place themselves under the direction of Columbanus, daily increasing, he found it necessary to erect a monastery, and for that purpose fixed upon a spot, called *Luxovium*, now *Luxeu*, or, corruptly, *Luxeul*, in a thick part of the forest, and about eight miles distant from Anagrates. This foundation took place in 590, or perhaps, in the early part of 591. (13) A community still remained at Anagrates; but so great was the concourse of persons of every description, and particularly of young nobles, anxious to avail themselves of his instructions and to lead a religious life, that he was soon obliged to erect another monastery at a place in the neighbourhood, to which he gave the name of *Ad fontanas* (now Fontaines) from its being well furnished with springs. Over this new monastery as well as over that of Anagrates he placed superiors, subordinate, however, to himself. (14) For these establishments he drew up a monastic rule, most probably derived, at least in a great part, from that of his master Comgall of Bangor. (15).

(10) Jonas, cap. 5. Anagrates is now called Anegray, which,

as well as Luxeu, &c. mentioned lower down, lies in the province since called Franche Comte. Bingham (B. VII. *ch.* 2, *sect.* 13.) has shamefully changed Luxeu into Lisieux in Normanday.) Jonas tells a pompous story of how Columbanus, after his favourable reception by Sigebert, was requested by him not to quit his kingdom, and that accordingly he took up his abode in that country. But, from what we have just seen, all this, however copied by many others, falls to the ground. The fact is, that the saint was not then patronized by any king, otherwise how could he and his companions have been soon after reduced to almost a state of starvation?

(11) Mabillon observes that, according to a well founded tradition, Salix was the place now called *Le Saucy*, three leagues distant from Anegray.

(12) Jonas, *cap.* 8.

(13) Fleury, (*Hist. Eccl.* L. 35. §. 9) assigns it to 590, the year of the saint's arrival in Burgundy. But, as some months elapsed before he founded Luxeu, it may be placed in 591.

(14) Mabillon says, (*Annal. Benedict.* L. VIII. §. 11.) that this is the origin or first instance of priories, or dependent small monasteries, subject to the head monastery and its abbots, as colonies are to the mother country. It may have been so in the continent; but there were certainly many instances of that kind in Ireland, or where Irish monks were settled, prior to the establishments of Columbanus. Columbkil superintended many inferior monasteries of this sort, and this power was derived to his successors. Without repeating what we have so often met with relative to this subject, let it suffice to refer to a passage of Bede quoted above, (*Not.* 240 to *Chap.* XII.) Comgall had established several of those subordinate monasteries or priories. (See *Chap.* x. §. 12.) Columbanus merely imitated his practice, and for the same reason, *viz.* that one monastery was not sufficient for containing the vast number of monks and students belonging to the institution.

(15) Fleming, the collector of the Acts, works, &c. of St. Columbanus, published by Sirin, was of opinion (*Dissert. de Monast. S. Columbani professione*) that he added somewhat to the Rule of Comgall. The Rule of St. Columbanus is easily met with, having been often published (See Usher, *p.* 920), even before Holstenius

inserted it in his *Codex Regularum*. I must here observe, that after the Rule, as published by Messingham (*Florilegium*) &c. &c. there is in Fleming's collection, which may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, (Tom. 12. Lyons, A. 1677) the *S. Columbanii abbatis Regula Coenobialis Fratrum, sive Liber de quotidianis poenitentiis monachorum*. It appears as a supplementary rule to the general one, and is divided into 15 small chapters. It has been called *Regula Coenobialis Patrum de Hibernia*. There is also in Fleming's collection, and in the *Bibl. Patr. (ib.)*, another penitential tract of St. Columbanus, entitled *Liber de poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*, and consisting of 42 rules or paragraphs. A good account of St. Columbanus' Rule in general is given by Fleury, (*L.* 35. §. 10.) It was received and followed in France before that of St. Benedict was introduced into that country; and we find it approved of by the Freuch bishops in the council of Macon, A. D. 627. Mabillon admits (*Annal. Ben. L. VIII. §. 17.*) that it was different from the Benedictine, which, he observes, was not followed either in Britain or Ireland, when Columbanus arrived in France bringing with him the discipline of Bangor. He doubts, (*ib.* §. 16.) and for very strong reasons, whether the practice of perpetual psalmody, mentioned by St. Bernard (*Vit. S. Malach.*) as observed at Luxeu, was introduced there by the saint. I need scarcely add, that Columbanus' Rule was, after having been followed, for a long time, by several monasteries in France, and by some in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, at length incorporated with that of St. Benedict. Without recurring to Mabillon, who treats of these subjects at large, the reader will find some very nice observations on them in Usher's *Prim. p.* 1050. *seqq.*

§. III. Several miracles are related as performed by St. Columbanus, as also various favours obtained from the Almighty through his prayers, while he remained in the places now spoken of. But a detail of them would lead us too far. His confidence in being assisted by God was so great that, on occasion of a great number of the monks of Luxeu lying sick, he ordered them to rise and thresh the sheafs of corn spread out on the ground. Those, who obeyed, immediately recovered their health; while others,

who did not, were punished with long and dangerous illness. (16) Waldelen a wealthy chieftain and his wife Flavia, having no children, came from Besançon to request his intercession with God for the purpose of being blessed with an heir. The saint told them that he would comply with their wish, yet on this condition that the son who would be born, should be dedicated to the service of God ; and promised them that, in case of their agreeing to this proposal, they should not want for other heirs. Full of joy they accepted of these terms, and the Almighty was pleased to give them a son, who was brought by his mother to the saint, who baptized him and gave him the appropriate name of *Donatus*. He was in due time educated in the monastery of Fontaine, and afterwards became bishop of Besançon, where he was still alive in our author's time. Waldelen and Flavia had next the happiness of having another son and two daughters, all three distinguished for piety ; and Flavia, after her husband's death, founded a nunnery at Besançon. (17)

(16) *Jonas, cap. 11.*

(17) *Ib. cap. 13.*

§. iv. St. Columbanus, although living in France, continued to observe the Irish mode of computing Easter time. (18) Some Gallican bishops gave him a great deal of trouble on this account. Accordingly he wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he strenuously defends the Irish system, and requests his decision on the question, telling him, however, that the Western churches, meaning those of Britain and Ireland, will not agree to any thing contrary to the authority of St. Jerome, whom he considered as having approved of the calculation, on which it was founded. He then consults him on some other points, and concludes with informing him that he had read with great pleasure his Pastoral, and requesting a copy of his Commentary on

Ezechiel. (19) It appears, that the Pope did not receive this letter nor some other memoirs, which Columbanus wrote to him on the subject. About the same time several Gallican bishops were assembled in council for the purpose of deliberating on that question, and of deciding on how they should act with regard to Columbanus. He wrote them a letter, in which he thanked God that they had met on his account, and wishes that they would, as the canons require, hold councils oftener than they used to do. He begs of them to examine, with mildness and humility, which is the right tradition relative to Easter time, and refers them to the answer he gave them three years before, his three tomes addressed to the Pope, and his memoir directed to the bishop Arigius. (20) He adds that he was not the author of the question, and that he and his companions merely wish to follow the practice of their elders. It would, he says, I think, be better for you to comfort us poor strangers than to go on disturbing us. He then tells them, that he did not dare to appear before them for fear of disputing in their presence, contrary to the precept of the Apostle; and that, if it be God's will that they should drive him out of the desert, whither he came from so great a distance for the love of Jesus Christ, he will say with the Prophet; *If I am the cause of this tempest, make it cease by throwing me into the sea.* He observes in the course of the letter, that he had lived in the forests of that country for twelve years, whence it follows that it was written either in 601 or 602. (21) Whatever was the result of this letter, or the decision of the council, we find St. Columbanus still persisting in his Paschal computation, and still annoyed by the Gallican clergy for so doing. For the purpose of being protected against their attacks, he had recourse to the then Pope, whether Sabinian, or Boniface the third or fourth, is uncertain, (22) and sent him copies of his letter to Pope Gregory,

which had not been delivered to that Pope. (23) He requests of him to be allowed to follow the tradition of his elders, if it be not contrary to faith, and says that he does not disturb others with regard to their observances. We ask, he adds, for peace and ecclesiastical unity, such as that which St. Polycarp maintained with Pope Anicetus, and for permission to observe our own laws according to the regulation made by the 150 fathers of the council of Constantinople. (24)

(18) Fleury says (*L. 36. §. 44.*) that Columbanus celebrated Easter on the 14th of the moon. This is not correctly expressed. He ought to have said, that Columbanus reckoned the Paschal Sundays, viz. the Sundays, on which Easter could be celebrated, from the 14th to the 20th of the moon. This was contrary to the Alexandrian computation from the 15th to the 21st, which had been received at Rome not many years before the time of Columbanus, and thence introduced into France. Until the adoption of the Alexandrian method there were mistakes on both sides. Of these subjects more in their proper place.

(19) This letter has been published from Fleming by Sirin, and thence, together with the other letters and works of St. Columbanus, republished in the 12th tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* above mentioned. It shows a considerable share of learning, and is written with apostolical freedom, yet combined with expressions of great respect and esteem for St. Gregory, whom Columbanus says he would have waited on in person, did his health and the care of his institution permit him. Fleming thought (*Comment. ad Vitam S. Columbani Collectan. p. 319.*) that St. Columbanus indicates in this letter his having been already at Rome. But as Sirin justly remarks (*ib. p. 164.*), there is no foundation for this supposition, the words of the saint not requiring that explanation, but a different one, which is plain enough.

(20) Fleury says, (*ib.*) that Arigius is thought to have been archbishop of Lyons. Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. 9. c. 34.*) thinks that he was the primus bishop of Vapincum, (now Gap) who lived in those times, and is often mentioned by Fleury himself. The

name of the Archbishop of Lyons was properly *Aridius*, and he is so called by Fleury (*L.* 36. §. 49.) It is true that in some rather late documents he is called also *Arigius*, and his name is infamous in history, having been a friend of Brunchild and her copartner in the horrid persecution of Desiderius bishop of Vienne; although some writers have endeavoured to exculpate him, without, however, convincing any impartial reader. (See Sammarthan, (*Gallia Christiana*, Tom. IV. col. 40 *seqq.*) It is odd that Fleury, who places in 602 the council held concerning St. Columbanus, could have supposed that the bishop Arigius, to whom the saint's memoir had been addressed, was Aridius of Lyons; for he might have known, that he did not become archbishop of Lyons until 603. (*Gallia Chr. ib.*) Now, if this Aridius were the person referred to by Columbanus, the council should have been held after 602. Dupin, indeed, had said (*Bibliothèque*, &c. at *Columbanus*, 7th century,) what Fleury has as to Arigius; but he does not mark the time of the council. There was a council held at Chalon sur Saone in 603; its business, however, was relative not to Columbanus but to Desiderius of Vienne. Besides, it is clear that St. Columbanus had written to Arigius before the assembling of the council concerning himself, and that Arigius was a well known bishop at the time, which cannot be said of Aridius of Lyons, whose first appearance we do not find until 603, and who, I suspect, was not in his own times called *Arigius*. The reason for afterwards giving him this name was probably a wish to confound him with St. Arigius of Gap, a person, highly esteemed by St. Gregory, and who, it cannot be doubted, was the bishop to whom Columbanus had directed a tract on the Paschal question.

(21) Fleury calculates that it was written in 602, because, he says, the monastery of Luxeu was founded in 590. But St. Columbanus reckoned the twelve years from the time of his arrival in the Vosges, which was in said year, and prior by some months to the foundation of Luxeu. (See *Not.* 9 and 12.) Mabillon (*loc. cit.*) states that the council was assembled in the 12th year from Columbanus's said arrival, which, he says, corresponds to A. D. 600, yet supposing that the 12 years, mentioned by the saint should be considered as not complete. This does not agree with what he has elsewhere as to the saint's transactions. If the

council, in which the conduct of Columbanus was discussed, was the same as one thought to have been held in consequence of an order of the Pope issued in 599, it might seem that it ought to be assigned to 600. But Columbanus speaks of the council as if assembled merely on his own account, and, on the other hand, in the directions given by the Pope, concerning the subjects to be treated of in the council ordered by him, there is not a word about Columbanus or the Paschal question. (See Fleury, *L.* 36. §. 10.) Be the matter as it may, there is every reason to believe, that the council written to by the saint was held either in 601 or 602.

(22) As St. Columbanus's letter is directed to the Pope in general without any distinguishing criterion, it has been generally supposed that he was Boniface the third or fourth. Boniface the third became Pope on the 15th of February A. D. 606, and died on the 12th of November in said year. His immediate successor was Boniface the fourth, who, after a vacancy of more than ten months, was placed on the chair of St. Peter on the 18th of September in 607, and lived until 614. If the Boniface to whom Columbanus wrote on this occasion, was the third, the letter must have been written in 606; if he was the fourth, we must assign it to some time between the latter end of 607 and that part of 609, in which the saint began to be persecuted by Brunechild and her grandson Theodoric. It is evident from the letter, that it was written prior to this persecution. Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. x. §. 36.*) makes mention of it, as directed to the third Boniface, while Fleming exhibits it as written to the fourth. Pagi (*Critica &c. ad A. 605.*) differs from both, and holds that Fabinian, the immediate successor of St. Gregory, was the Pope addressed by Columbanus. In this case the letter was written either in the late part of 604, or early in 605.

(23) In the letter, just treated of, Columbanus says that the bearers of his letters to Gregory were twice prevented by Satan from delivering them. Perhaps they were intercepted by his opponents in France.

(24) He alludes to a part of the second canon of that council in which it is decreed, that the churches without the Roman empire are to be administered according to the traditionary custom of their fathers. "*Quae autem in Barbaris sunt gentibus, Dei*

ecclesias administrare oportet secundum patrum, quae servata est, consuetudinem."

§. v. A much more severe persecution awaited St. Columbanus, excited against him by that wicked old queen dowager, Brunechild, or, as the French now call her, Brunchant, the relict of Sigebert king of Austrasia, and mother of Childebert, who became king also of Burgundy, (25) and died in 596. He left two sons, who succeeded him under the direction of Brunechild their grandmother, Theodebert king of Austrasia, and Theodoric, or Thierry, king of Burgundy. Brunechild lived with Theodebert, until, at the request of the noblesse of Austrasia, he banished her. She then fled in the year 599 to Theodoric, by whom she was kindly received. (26) When this prince was no more than a stripling, she contrived to corrupt his morals, in order to preserve her authority over him, insomuch so, that at a very early age he kept concubines. He had, however, a great veneration for St. Columbanus, and used to visit him very often. The saint, wishing to reclaim him, admonished him sharply to change his course of life, and told him how infamous it was to take up with concubines instead of getting a wife, by whom, as a respectable queen, he might have legitimate children. Theodoric was so much affected by these exhortations, that he promised to follow the advice of Columbanus. When Brunechild was informed of the king's intention, she became enraged, like another Jezabel, being afraid that if a queen were introduced, she would lose her own power and rank. (27) Some time after, the saint happening to call to see her at Brocoriacum (28) Brunechild, on perceiving him coming into the court, brought out the illegitimate children of Theodoric, who were then four, to meet him. When he saw them he asked what did they want. She answered; "they are the King's children; do you give them your blessing." "Know,"

he replied, "that they will never reign; for they are sprung from debauchery." Getting into a fury, she ordered the children to be withdrawn, and Columbanus left the court. She then dispatched messengers with orders not to allow his monks to quit the precincts of their monasteries, and an injunction to others not to receive them or give them any assistance. Columbanus, wishing to put a stop to these proceedings, went to Spissia, (29) where Theodoric was together with his grandmother. Having arrived there about sun-set he refused to stop in any of the houses belonging to the king, who, on being apprized of his determination, gave orders that he should be supplied at his lodging with every thing necessary in a splendid manner. Some exquisite dishes, wine, &c. were accordingly brought to him, which when Columbanus saw, he asked what was the meaning of this apparatus. The answer was, that they were sent to him by the king. He then said; "It is written, *The Most High rejects the gift of the impious*; (30) nor is it fit that the mouths of the servants of God should be defiled with the viands of one, who refuses them an entrance not only into his own habitation but likewise into those of others." On his having finished these words, the dishes, &c. cracked into pieces, and every thing was scattered on the floor. The king's officers being terrified, announced to him what had taken place, who, likewise struck with terror, hastened the next morning along with Brunehild to wait upon the saint. They asked pardon for what had been done against him and his monks, and promised to amend their conduct. He then returned to his monastery. (31)

(25) See Not. 9.

(26) See Henault, *Abregé*, &c.(27) Jonas, *cap.* 17.(28) Bourcheresse between Challon and Autun. Fleury, *L.* 36. §. 57.(29) Espoisses between Semur and Montreal. Fleury, *ib.*

The saint's object in going to that place was not, as Fleury states, to appease Brunechild, but to give further admonitions to the king.

(30) *Eccli.* xxxiv. 23.

(31) *Jonas*, *cap.* 18.

§. VI. Brunechild and Theodoric, far from fulfilling their promise, still continued in their usual irregularities and scandals, which so displeased the saint that he wrote a very severe letter to the king, and threatened to separate from his communion, (32) unless he would speedily renounce his vicious habits. This was highly displeasing to Brunechild, who accordingly set every engine at work to envenom the king's mind against the saint, and procured the co-operation of pliant nobles and courtiers for that purpose. She solicited also the bishops to find fault with his monastic rule. The king thus pressed went in person, attended by his sycophants, to Luxeu, and, not having any thing improper to charge Columbanus with, made a complaint of his differing from the usages of the province in not allowing to Christians of every description access into the interior of his monasteries. The saint replied with firmness, that it was not his practice to allow it, but that he had proper places for receiving all sorts of people. Theodoric then forcing his way into the monastery said; "If you wish to derive any benefit from our bounty, all these places must be open to every one." He had already got as far as the refectory, when Columbanus thus addressed him; "If you endeavour to violate the discipline here established, know that I will do without your presents or any succour from you; and if you are to come to this place for the purpose of destroying the monasteries of the servants of God, and of corrupting the regular discipline, know that your kingdom will be destroyed together with 'all your royal race.'" The king, terrified by this denunciation, immediately withdrew, and, as the saint still reproached him with his conduct, said to

him ; “ You hope I will give you the crown of martyrdom ; but I am not such a fool as to commit so heinous a crime ; and I now tell you what is best to be done. As your system is different from that of all other times, do you return to whence you came.” The courtiers added, that they did not like to have any one in their country, who would not associate with every body. Columbanus answered, that he would not quit the cloister, unless dragged out by force. A nobleman, named Baudolfus, was then left to watch him, and soon after sent him to Besançon, where he was to remain until the king’s further pleasure should be known. While there, he was left quite free without being guarded or disturbed by any one, and, as no orders appeared relative to him, he thought he might return to his monastery, as he accordingly did together with those, who had followed him. Brunechild and Theodoric, being apprized of his return, became greatly enraged, and ordered some military men to proceed to Luxeu and drive him out of the monastery. Many of them were exceedingly sorry for being employed on this errand. The saint was very loth to part with his dear monks and disciples, who would have followed him to any part of the world. But the king had given orders, that none should be allowed to accompany him except his own countrymen and such as were Britons, while those, who were native of France, should stay behind. These were encouraged by the saint to keep up their spirits, as God would soon avenge their cause. This final departure of St. Columbanus from his monasteries in the Vosges took place in the 20th year from his arrival in that country, and, as appears from other circumstances, A. D. 610. (33)

(32) This separation from communion is called *excommunication* by Jonas ; but it must not be understood in the strict sense of the word, or of a total exclusion from the body of the faith-

ful. Columbanus, who was only a priest, was too well acquainted with the discipline of the church to imagine, that he could inflict such a punishment as general excommunication. What he meant was that he would not communicate *in sacris* with Theodoric, and that, for instance, he would not give him the Eucharist, nor even allow him to enter his church. Innumerable cases of this sort of partial excommunication occur in Ecclesiastical history; and we find three of them, exactly similar to what was threatened by Columbanus, in the proceedings of St. Ambrose, with regard to three emperors; 1. Maximus, whom, as Paulinus tells us (*Vit. Ambros.*) *a communione consortio segregavit*, on account of his having shed the blood of the emperor Gratian: 2. Valentinian junior: (See *Ep. 30 ad Valentin. junior.*) 3. Theodosius, otherwise a most religious prince, for the massacre of Theassalonica. Yet in none of these instances did St. Ambrose mean that sort of excommunication, by which a person is cut out from all Christian communion and rejected by the whole church. Nor did he suppose that other bishops might not hold communion with those princes, if they pleased to do so. The Irish church distinguished six sorts of excommunication. (See below *Chap. xxxii. §. 11.*)

(83) Jonas has, (*cap. 19.*) “*Vicesimo anno post incolatum eremi illius.*” Fleury (*L. 37. §. 6.*) makes this 20th year the same as A. D. 610. Mabillon also (*Annal. &c. (L. x. §. 47.)*) assigns the saint's departure to the same year. And here I may observe that he must have been wrong in calling A. 600 the 12th year of Columbanus in the Vosges; (above *Not. 21.*) for, whereas he admits that the 20th year of his abode there was A. 610, how could 600 have been the 12th? From Jonas having mentioned not 20 years complete, but only the 20th from the saint's arrival in the desert, that is, from A. 590, it might seem that the year of the departure was perhaps rather 609 than 610. But from what will be seen in the following, note it is evident, that the latter is the true date.

§. VII. The saint and his companions were escorted on their rout towards Ireland by a corps of guards commanded by one Ragamund, to whom, when they had reached Auxerre, Columbanus said; “Remember what I now tell you; Clotarius, whom

ye now despise, will be your master in three years time." (34) Thence they were conducted to Nevers, to be there embarked in a boat plying on the Loire. (35) As some of them were rather slow in getting into the boat, one of them Lua, (36) a very holy man, was struck with an oar by one of the guards. The saint expostulated with him for his wanton cruelty towards unoffending persons, who were already persecuted more than enough, and announced to him that he would be struck by God in the very same spot; and so it turned out soon after; for, having returned to it he was there drowned. When arrived at Orleans, Columbanus and his followers were obliged to remain in tents on the bank of the Loire, and would not be allowed to enter any of the churches, the king having given orders that they should not. Being in want of provisions, two of them, one of whom was named Potentinus, (37) went into the city to procure something. The people were afraid to give them any supplies; but, as they were returning, they were met by a Syrian woman, who asked them who they were. On their explaining themselves and mentioning their business, she addressed them with great respect, and invited them to to her house, where, she said, they should get whatever they were in need of; telling them at the same time, that she also was a foreigner and from a distant country of the East. They went along with her, and sat down until she brought them some necessaries. Observing a blind man in the place, and inquiring who he was, she answered that he was her husband and a countryman of hers. They said, that if he were brought before Columbanus, he might recover his sight by means of his prayers. The blind man encouraged by these words, and strengthened by faith, followed them with the help of a guide on their return, and, just as Potentinus had finished relating to the saint what had occurred, presented himself before him, and requested his prayers towards being

freed from his blindness. Columbanus, perceiving his faith, called upon the brethren to pray for this man, and, having lain prostrate for a considerable time on the ground, rising up touched his eyes and making the sign of the cross restored his sight to him. Thenceforth numbers of persons afflicted with various infirmities flocked to the saint, and the inhabitants of Orleans largely, yet secretly, contributed towards the wants of himself and his companions.

(34) Jonas, *ib.* In fact, Clotharius, who was then sovereign of only the kingdom of Soissons, became king of all France in 613. Hence it is clear, that the year of the saint's delivering that prophecy, and accordingly of his last departure from Luxeu, could not have been prior to 610.

(35) It may seem odd that, having arrived at Auxerre, they should have been brought so far to the South, and out of the straight line to the British sea, as Nevers. But it is probable that the first intention was to convey them by land; and, that as this was considered inconvenient for perhaps many reasons, it was resolved at Auxerre to embark them on the Loire. To meet with what we would call a packet boat, they were obliged to turn off towards Nevers, where there was a station for vessels of that sort.

(36) Jonas, *cap.* 20. This is the Lua alluded to above, *Not.* 5. He must have been either an Irishman or a Briton, as none others of the monks were allowed to accompany the saint. But his name, being a well known Irish one, favours the former supposition. It is very probable that he was one of those, who had followed Columbanus from Ireland. I do not say, *certain*, because there are reasons to suppose, that, besides his original companions, he had some other Irish monks in the Vosges. Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* L. x. §. 48.) fell into a mistake, similar to that of Usher, (See *Not.* 93. to *Chap.* XII.) thinking that this Lua was perhaps the Luanus mentioned by St. Bernard.

(37) We may, I think, conclude from his name, that Potentinus was a Romanized Briton. He afterwards established a monastery in a suburb of Coutance (in Normandy); and Jonas tells us (*cap.* 20.) that he was still alive in his time.

§. VIII. Being arrived at Tours, Columbanus requested of the guards to permit him to visit the tomb of St. Martin. They refused to comply, and ordered the boatmen to put forward; but, in spite of them, the boat stopped at the harbour, and thus he had the consolation of spending a whole night in prayer near that venerable monument. The next morning Leuparius, the bishop, invited him to dinner. The saint accepted of his invitation, and remained with him for that day. One of the guests was Chrodoaldus, who, although related by marriage to king Theodebert, was a faithful adherent of Theodoric. Columbanus, being apprized of this, said to him; "As you are connected by treaty with Theodoric, you will do well to let him know, that he and his children will be destroyed, root and branch, in the course of three years." The bishop, having supplied the saint with some necessary store, bid him a prosperous farewell. At length he and his followers arrived at Nantes, where they remained for some days waiting for a passage to Ireland. The bishop Sophronius paid them no attention; but the Almighty did not forsake them. Their wants were abundantly relieved by two pious ladies Procula and Dola or Doda, which made the courtly prelate so much ashamed, that, together with the Count Theodoald, he did all he could to hurry them off. A ship was found ready to sail for Ireland, and in it were embarked the saint's companions, their sea store, &c. while he himself was to go down in a boat as far as the mouth of the river, where he would join them. Just as the vessel had reached the ocean, it was encountered by an immense mass of waves, which drove it back and cast it on shore, where it lay stranded for three days. The master conceived that his being stopped in his voyage was owing to his having on board the saint's companions and articles belonging to him. Accordingly he determined on putting them out of

the ship, which when he had done, the obstacles to his course immediately ceased. (38) The whole party then returned to Nantes, and were no longer disturbed, every one paying the greatest respect and attention to Columbanus. It was before his companions embarked in said vessel, that he wrote from Nantes (39) an excellent letter to the monks, whom he had left behind him in the Vosges. He gives them various salutary directions, and desires them to obey Attala, whom he orders to remain along with them, in case he thinks his doing so conducive to the good of souls. "But if," he adds, "you see danger, I mean danger of disunion, which may be caused by the Paschal question, you may come to me." Then addressing the whole community, he points out to them how they are to act, in case Attala should retire from the presidency.

(38) Jonas, *cap.* 22.

(39) It is odd, that Fleury (*L.* 37. §. 6.) speaks in a doubting manner of this letter having been written at Nantes. Mabillon does not; and, in fact, it is evident from the context, that it was written there. For instance, he says that, at the very time he was writing it, a person brought him word that a ship was getting ready to take him against his will to his own country. He tells his monks of Burgundy, that their brethren were then near the Britons, *in vicinia Britonum*, meaning those of Brittany. This is surely a positive indication that the place was Nantes. In Fleming's collection and in the *Biblioth-Patr.* this letter is marked No. 3.

§. ix. The saint and his followers, being now perfectly free, leaving Nantes proceeded to the kingdom of Clotharius son of Chilperic, (40) who, knowing how cruelly Columbanus had been treated by Brunechild and Theodoric received him with open arms, as a heavenly gift, and requested him to settle in his dominions. The saint declined his in-

vation, partly lest he might add fuel to the enmity existing between him and Theodoric, and partly for other reasons. Meanwhile, Clotharius detaining him as long as he could, he gave that king some good advice with regard to the management of his court. While he remained with him, a quarrel arose between Theodoric and his brother Theodebert concerning the boundaries of their kingdoms. Both parties sent ambassadors to Clotharius, calling upon him to assist one against the other. On this occasion he consulted Columbanus, who counselled him not to join either of them, whereas both their kingdoms would fall into his hands within three years. The king followed his advice. This was in 611, the year in which the two royal brothers were making preparations for war. (41) Some time after the saint applied to Clotharius for the purpose of being enabled, through his means, to pass through the kingdom of Theodebert (Austria) on his way towards Italy. Clotharius then ordered some persons to accompany him, who brought him first to Paris, where he cured a man possessed with the devil, and thence to Meaux, where he was most joyfully welcomed by Channeric, a nobleman very high in favour with Theodebert. This worthy man, wishing to detain Columbanus as long as possible at Meaux, and to have his family instructed by him, told the persons who had been sent with him by Clotharius, that there was no further occasion for their attendance, and that he would take care to have him introduced to the king Theodebert. The saint gave his blessing to Channeric's family, and devoted to God a daughter of his, named Farra or Burgundofora, then very young, who afterwards became eminent for virtue. Having left Meaux he was entertained, on his way, at Vultiacum (*Eussi* or *Ussi*) on the Marne by Autharius a distinguished and pious man, whose lady Aiga brought two small sons of theirs, Ado

and Dado, to receive the saint's benediction. He blessed them ; and both of them, in course of time, retiring from the world, founded monasteries according to his Rule, and were celebrated for their sanctity

(40) Chilperic was one of the sons of Clotharius I. and got to his share the kingdom of Soissons. He was brother to Sigebert the grandfather of the saint's persecutor Theodoric. Chilperic's son was Clotharius II. to whose kingdom Columbanus went from Nantes, and which, says Jonas, (*cap.* 23.) was in the extreme parts of Gaul towards the ocean.

(41) See Henault, *Abrege*, &c. at *Clotharius II.*

§. x. At length Columbanus appeared before Theodebert, by whom he was received with marked distinction. By this time several of the monks, whom he had left at Luxeu, had joined him. Theodebert promised, that he would find for him agreeable places in his kingdom, every way fit for servants of God, and where he would have an opportunity of announcing the Gospel to nations in want of it. The saint answered that he would stop for a while in some such place, and try what good he could do in that line. The king left him to his own choice of a situation; and Columbanus having embarked on the Rhine, and proceeding against the current, halted a while at Mentz, where he and his people were plentifully supplied with necessaries by the bishop; and thence continued his course up the river. (42) Having examined divers places they came to the river Limath in Switzerland, and hence to the lake of Zurich. Travelling along its western bank they arrived in the district, now called the Canton of Zug, and liking the place fixed upon it for their abode. But soon finding the inhabitants exceedingly impious and obstinate, and that their exertions produced no other effect than to excite a violent persecution against themselves, they left that neighbourhood and re-

moved to Arbona near the lake of Constance, where lived a worthy priest named Willimar, who treated them for seven days with great hospitality. Columbanus inquired of him if there was any retired place in those parts convenient for the erection of a monastery. He told him there was a very fit situation near the ruins of a town called Brigantium (Bregentz); and, as the saint and his companions expressed a wish to go thither, he provided them with a boat and rowers for that purpose. (43) When arrived there, Columbanus was not well pleased with the circumstances of the place, but pledged himself to remain there for some time to propagate the faith among the Suevi, who lived in the neighbourhood. On one occasion he found the people preparing to offer a great libation out of a huge vessel full of beer. On the saint's asking them what they meant to do with it, they answered that it was intended as an offering to their god Vodan. He then blew on the vessel, which immediately cracked into pieces, and the beer was all spilled. Having then preached to them against their superstitions, he ordered them to go to their homes. Many of them were soon after converted, and when instructed, were baptized. (44)

(42) Jonas, *cap.* 26.

(43) Walafr. Strab. *Vit. S. Galli. L. 1. capp.* 4. 5. 6. Jonas omits all that Walafrid has, as now touched upon, and makes no mention of any place or persons visited by Columbanus from the time he left Mentz until he arrived at Bregentz.

(44) Jonas, *cap.* 26. Fleury was mistaken (*L. 37. §. 7.*) in placing the scene of this anecdote of the libation of beer, &c. in the district near the lake of Zurich. Walafrid does not mention it, where he exhibits the saint as having been there. The only remarkable fact he relates as having occurred in said district is the burning of some places of idolatrous worship by Gallus, and his throwing the people's oblations into the lake, whereupon they formed a plan to kill him, and flog Columbanus. Mabillon (*Annal.*

&c. *L. x. f. 52*) exhibits the beer libation, &c. as having occurred at Bregentz.

§. XI. Just as these holy men had got out of the boat at Bregentz, they went to an oratory or chapel, which had been constructed in honour of St. Aurelia. Having prayed for some time, they formed near it some huts for themselves. There was a temple (45) at Bregentz, in which three images of gilt brass were affixed to the wall, and used to be adored by the people; who, having discarded the service of the holy altar, were wont to say; "these are our ancient gods and protectors." On a day of solemn worship in that temple a great multitude of people had assembled, partly on account of the feast, and partly to see the strangers. Gallus, who could speak the language of the country very well, (46) addressed them by orders of Columbanus, and exhorted them to return to the true God. Then taking the images he broke them in pieces with stones and threw them into the lake. On seeing this some were converted, and, confessing their sins, praised the Lord; while others were enraged at the destruction of the images. Columbanus then called for water, and blessing it sprinkled the temple, and, the usual psalmody in going round being observed, dedicated it a church. He anointed the altar, placed there the reliques of St. Aurelia, (47) and covering it celebrated Mass. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the people departed full of joy. A monastery was next erected, and suitable employment was assigned to each of the brethren, some working in a garden, others attending to the care of fruit trees. The particular occupation of Gallus was, it is said, the making of nets and fishing for the use of the community and of strangers coming to visit them. (48) Columbanus, having done so much good for the people about Bregentz, had an idea of going to preach the Gospel to the Venetici or Sclavi, (49) who were

still immersed in ignorance ; but in consequence of a vision, which he had, perceived that the time was not yet come for the conversion of that nation.

(45) Fleury (*ib.*) calls this temple a church, and confounds it with the oratory of St. Aurelia. But, as far as I can understand the text of Walafrid, whence this narrative is taken, it was a pagan temple, or, at least, used as such, when Columbanus arrived at Bregentz. Perhaps it had been once a Christian church, near which stood the oratory. Walafrid seems to hint so much, where he speaks of the holy altar in such a manner as if, although neglected, it were within that temple. Mabillon (*ib.*) supposed that it had been originally a church dedicated to St. Aurelia, and which was purified by Columbanus. But if so, why, as will be seen lower down, does Walafrid say, that Columbanus placed there the reliques of St. Aurelia? Surely they should have been there already, if Mabillon's opinion be correct.

(46) This will not be wondered at, if it be recollected that, as the learned know, the Frankish tongue, which Gallus had time enough to become master of, when in the Voages, was not different, except in some shades of dialect, from that spoken in Germany.

(47) Hence we may conjecture, that those reliques had been until then in the oratory.

(48) Walafrid, *Vit. S. G. L.* 1. *cap.* 6. Fleury very inadvertently applies to Columbanus what Walafrid here says of Gallus.

(49) Jonas writes ; (*cap.* 26.) " Veneticorum, (*al.* Venetiorum) qui et Sclavi dicuntur." To understand this, it must be observed that the Sclavi or Slavans, who had during the reign of Justinian made several irruptions into Dalmatia and other Illyrian provinces, (See Procopius *De bello Gothico* L. III. *capp.* 29, 38, 40) were settled in Columbanus' time, in some parts of the Venetic or Venetian province. (See Muratori, *Scriptor. Rerum Italic.* Tom. 1. *p.* 470, 471.) Venetia extended eastward as far as Histria, or Istria ; and Muratori relates, *Annals*, &c. that in 600 the Sclavonians threatened Salona in Istria, and had begun to enter Italy.

§. XII. Meanwhile Theodebert, king of Austrasia, was very busy in making warlike preparations against

his brother Theodoric. The saint, foreseeing what would come to pass, paid him a visit and advised him to embrace the clerical state and submit to ecclesiastical discipline, lest, besides the loss of his kingdom, he might suffer also that of his soul. The king and the courtiers laughing at this proposal, Columbanus said that, if he would not voluntarily become a member of the clerical order, he would in a short time be made one against his will. The war having broken out, Theodebert was defeated first near Toul, and a second time at Tolbiac. During this bloody battle Columbanus happened to be in a solitary place attended only by Chagnoald a member of his community. While reading he fell asleep, and soon after awaking announced to Chagnoald, that a dreadful engagement was at that very time going on between the two kings. Chagnoald requested of him to pray for the success of Theodebert against the common enemy. He answered that this was a foolish and irreligious proposal, not being conformable to the will of God, who has commanded us to pray for our enemies. Theodebert, being pursued, was taken at Cologne, and sent to Brunchild then at Chalon sur Saone, who, having first forced him into the clerical order, a few days after ordered him to be put to death. (50) These transactions occurred in the year 612. Columbanus, reflecting on the state of affairs, and wishing to get beyond the reach of Brunchild and Theodoric now become so powerful, lost no time in quitting that country and setting out for Italy, (51) accompanied by the brethren, except Gallus, whom he was obliged to leave behind on account of his being ill of a fever. (52) He arrived at Milan in the same year 612, (53) after having spent about one year at Bregentz, (54) and was received with great kindness by Agilulf king of the Lombards, who gave him leave to settle in whatever part of his dominions he should think fit. While at Milan, Columbanus confuted the Arians by the authority of

the Holy scriptures, and wrote a very learned tract against them. (55) Some time after, and according to every appearance in the year 618, (56) he wrote his celebrated letter to Pope Boniface IV. relative to the question of the Three Chapters, which, notwithstanding the decision of the fifth general council, still continued to agitate a considerable portion of the Church. (57) He would probably not have meddled with this question, had he not been requested, nay pressed by Agilulf to apply to the Pope for the purpose of inducing him to put an end to the schism, by which his kingdom was disturbed. (58) Columbanus, addressing him as the most honoured head of churches, the pastor of pastors, &c. (59) Yet, when entering on the subject, writes with great freedom, and is particularly severe against the memory of Pope Vigilius, whom he supposed to have prevaricated from his duty. (60) He tells Boniface that the Irish are orthodox believers, constantly adhering to the faith and apostolic doctrine, which they had received from his predecessors, and that they never had among them any heretics, Jews, or schismatics. (61) He says he had promised that the Roman church would not abet any error, and exhorts the Pope to assemble a council and to remove every pretext for the imputations brought against himself and his see. "For, as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of St. Peter; and, although Rome is great and renowned, yet with us it is great and distinguished only on account of that chair.—Through the two apostles of Christ we are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the churches of the world." (62)

(50) Jonas, *cap.* 27. Henault, *Abrege*, &c. at Theodebert II.

(51) Jonas, *cap.* 29. Walafrid (*Vit. S. G. L.* 1. *cap.* 7.) assigns as the cause of their departure from Bregentz a peremptory order to that purpose issued by Duke Gunzo, who was made to believe by their pagan enemies that their presence in that country was

hurtful to the chace. How that could have been it is not easy to understand; and Walafrid had, I dare say, no better foundation for this than for some other stories of his, which I shall not trouble the reader with.

(52) Walafrid (*L. 1. cap. 8.*) tells us, that Columbanus imagined that Gallus was not really sick, and that he feigned illness as a pretext for remaining in that country, to which he supposed him to be much attached. He adds that, although Columbanus gave him permission to stay there, he laid an injunction on him not to celebrate mass during his own life time. Yet, says Walafrid, (*ib. cap. 25.*) he became reconciled to Gallus before his death, and gave orders that his staff should be sent to him as a mark of absolution. Jonas, who is older and much better authority than Walafrid, has not a word about any such misunderstanding. Columbanus was not a man to be easily imposed upon; nor is it at all probable, that he would have suspected so holy and dear a friend of an intention to deceive him. The truth is, if I be not much mistaken, that Columbanus advised Gallus to remain in those parts, whereas he might do so with safety, and by his knowledge of the language and other endowments was well qualified to improve the evangelical harvest, which had so happily commenced. That Gallus was attacked with a fever about the time of their parting, I see no reason for denying; and we may suppose that Columbanus considered it as an indication from God, that Gallus should not follow him.

(53) This is the date assigned by Mabillon, Fleury, &c. as also by Muratori, *Annali, D'Italia* at A. 612. That it is the true one is evident from this having been the year, in which Theodebert was totally defeated, and in consequence of which Columbanus was forced to make his escape from Bregentz.

(54) We have seen (above §. 9.) that Columbanus left the court of Clotharius in 611, and probably early in that year. Thence reckoning until that part of 612, which followed the campaign so fatal to Theodebert, and allowing some time for the saint's journey to Bregentz, we may infer that his stay in this place was no longer than about one year. Walafrid is evidently wrong (*Vit. S. G. L. 1. cap. 6.*) in stating, that he spent there three years; and I am surprised that Fleury (*L. 37. §. 7.*) has copied him without any observation. For, even supposing with Fleury, that Columbanus

did not leave the court of Clotharius until 610, (which, however, is not correct) it must have been late in that year, as it was in the course of said year that he was put out of Luxeu, and some not inconsiderable time must have elapsed between that expulsion and his parting with Clotharius. How then could three years be reckoned from that part, or indeed any part, of 610 until the part of 612, in which the saint left Bregentz? Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. x. §. 52.*) mentions those three years, but with the addition of an *it is said*, not meaning to give them as a computation of his own.

(55) Jonas, *cap. 29.* This, as well as some other works of Columbanus, has been unluckily lost.

(56) This is the year marked by Mabillon, *Annal. &c. L. xi. §. 4.* Pagi has either 613 or 614. (*Critica in Annal. Bar. ad A. 614.*) If it was the latter, it will follow that the letter was written early in that year; for Boniface IV. died in May in said year.

(57) It is not my business to enter into a disquisition concerning that great controversy, an account of which may be found in every general ecclesiastical history. I shall merely observe, that the Irish clergy did not trouble themselves about that question, although several very respectable writers, such as Fleury, Pagi, &c. thought otherwise, founding their opinion on a letter of Gregory the great, written in 592, and generally believed to have been directed to the bishops of Ireland. It is marked in the old editions of Gregory's works, as *Ep. 36* of the second book of the Register; and with this head; "*Gregorius universis episcopis per Hiberniam.*" In the Benedictine edition it is *Ep. 51. ib.* and in the head the words, *per Hiberniam*, are omitted. The editors observe, that they are not genuine, and that, in all probability, this letter was written to the bishops of Histria, who were great sticklers for the Three chapters and opponents of the fifth council. Mabillon also says, (*An. Ben. L. xi. §. 4.*) that, instead of *Hiberniam*, we ought to read *Histriam*. A mere perusal of the letter is sufficient to show, that it was not written to the Irish bishops. The persons addressed in it gloried in the persecution, which they suffered for what they thought righteousness' sake. This agrees very well with the circumstances, in which the Histrian bishops were placed at that time with regard to the proceed-

ings of the court of Constantinople and the Exarchs against them, but cannot apply to the state of Ireland, over which neither the emperors nor their officers had any controul. The Irish kings of that period did not meddle with that dispute, nor is there in any of our ancient documents the least allusion to it, nor much less to a persecution on account of it. Whatever opinion St. Columbanus entertained concerning the Three chapters was formed by him in consequence not of what he had heard or seen in Ireland, but of the ferment, that agitated the north of Italy, relatively to this controversy.

I shall avail myself of this opportunity to caution the reader against supposing, that another letter of the same Pope was written also to the Irish bishops; which, together with that now treated of, Usher has inserted in the *Ep. Hib. Sylloge*, with this head; "*Gregorius Quirino episcopo et cæteris episcopis in Hibernia Catholicis.*" This head appears, indeed, in the Roman edition of Gregory's works, although the Roman correctors of Gratian had remarked, (at *De Consecr. Distinct. 4. can. 44.*) that the Vatican MS. has not *Hibernia* but *Iberia*. It is now universally admitted, that the true reading is *Hiberia*, or *Iberia*. (See *Ed. Benedicto Registr. Epistol. L. xi. ep. 67.*) It is addressed to a bishop Quiricus (sometimes called *Quirinus*) of Iberia near the Black sea, in answer to his having consulted the Pope concerning the mode to be observed in receiving into the church persons returning from the Nestorian heresy. This alone proves that it was not written to any bishop of Ireland, where no Nestorians were to be found. Quiricus had consigned to a person going to Rome some letters for Gregory, which, however, he did not receive, the bearer having lost them at Jerusalem. Here we have a proof that those letters were not sent from Ireland; for surely no one, proceeding thence to Rome, would have previously gone to the Holy land.

(58) Columbanus writes; "A rege cogos, ut singillatim suggeram tuis piis auribus sui negotium doloris. Dolor namque suus est schisma populi pro regina, pro filio, forte et pro se ipso." Once or twice more he repeats his having been urged by the king, as if apologizing for troubling the Pope with his letter.

(59) The letter is thus headed; "Pulcherrimo (honoratissimo)

omnium totius Europae ecclesiarum capiti, Papae praedulci, prae-
celso praesuli, pastorum pastori, &c.

(60) Besides some other harsh expressions, he has; “*Vigila, quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilius, quem caput scandali ipsi clamant.*” The assertion of Ledwich (*p.* 168.) that he charges Boniface himself, whom he ignorantly calls Boniface the *third*, with heresy, is one of his usual falsehoods.

(61) Nos enim SS. Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum divinum canonum Spiritu sancto scribentium discipuli sumus, toti Haberi, ultimi, habitatores mundi, nihil extra Evangelicam et Apostolicam doctrinam recipientes. Nullus haereticus, nullus Judaeus, nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides Catholica, sicut a vobis primum, sanctorum scilicet Apostolorum successoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur.

(62) Nos enim, ut ante dixi, devincti sumus cathedrae S. Petri; licet enim Roma magna est et vulgata, per istam cathedram tantum apud nos est magna et clara.—Propter Christi geminos apostolos vos prope caelestes estis; et Roma orbis terrorum caput et ecclesiarum.

§. XIII. In the same year 613 Columbanus founded the monastery of Bobbio amidst the Apennines. (63) This place was pointed out for him to the king by one Jocundus, who said that the situation was very convenient for a religious establishment, and that there was an old church there under the name of St. Peter. Thither the saint went with his companions, and immediately set about repairing the church and erecting a monastery; (64) which being completed, he built at some distance an oratory in honour of the Blessed Virgin. (65) Meanwhile his prophecy relative to Clotharius was fulfilled; for that prince, from having been king only of Soissons, became in this year sovereign of the whole French monarchy. (66) Clotharius, observing how exactly what Columbanus had foretold came to pass, wished to see him, and having sent for Eustatius, who then governed Luxeu, requested of him to go in search of Columbanus, and, when he should find him, to in-

duce him to come to his court. He told him that he might take along with him whomsoever he pleased of his nobles as vouchers of the king's good intentions, and that his expenses would be defrayed by the public. Eustasius, complying with the king's wish, undertook the journey in 614, and having found Columbanus, probably at Bobbio, opened to him his commission. The saint was highly rejoiced at seeing his dear disciple, and, detaining him for a few days, gave him some good advices as to the discipline and management of the people entrusted to his care. He desired him to make his apology to Clotharius, and to tell him that it was out of his power to wait upon him; and that he supplicated him to extend his royal protection to the monks of Luxeu. He charged Eustasius with a letter for him, containing some wholesome reproofs as to his conduct, notwithstanding which the king received it with great joy, and, taking Luxeu under his protection, provided it with an annual income, allowing Eustasius to stretch its boundaries as far as he thought proper. From this time out the saint spent the remainder of his life at Bobbio, where he survived by one year the return of Eustasius to France, (67) and died on the 21st of November A. D. 615, (68) having lived to a good old age and somewhat more than 72 years. (69) He was buried at Bobbio, where many miracles have been performed at his tomb, (70) and was succeeded there by Attala.

(63) The situation of Bobbio is too well known to require any observation of mine. Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. L. x. §. 55.*) places the foundation of the monastery in 612. It is more probable that it was in 613; for Columbanus' arrival in Italy was rather late in 612, and it is plain that he spent some, not very short time, at Milan, before he repaired to Bobbio. Poor Ledwich (*p. 168*) makes Columbanus go straight from Luxeu to Bobbio, and attributes his expulsion from the former place to clerical resentment, alluding to his severe letter to Boniface IV. whom this

mighty antiquary calls the *third*. Thus then the Pope is to be charged, instead of Brunechild and Theodoric, with the persecution of Columbanus! Nor was Columbanus sent to Nantes; nor did he go to the courts of Clotharius and Theodebert; nor did he spend any time at Bregentz. But what does Ledwich care about history? No, nor about chronology? The Pope must be abused. His motto is; *Perish history and down with Popery!* But if the Pope was able to drive Columbanus from France, why did he let him come into Italy so much nearer to him? I am almost ashamed to take notice of this ignorant man's effusions. Yet in this case he is chargeable with something worse than ignorance. For, as he refers to Dupin, whom he had certainly looked into, and who has given a clear sketch of Columbanus' history, he must have known that his own statement as to the cause of the expulsion from Luxeu, &c. was not true. And he must have known, that Columbanus had been expelled from that place three years before he wrote the sharp letter, and before the *clerical resentment* he talks of could have been excited.

(64) Jonas, *cap.* 29.

(65) Mabillon, *ib.*

(66) We have seen that Theodebert of Austrasia was defeated and assassinated in 612. Theodoric, who had conquered him, died the following year at Metz just as he was on the point of waging war against Clotharius, who soon after seized upon the dominions of Theodoric, and put two of his sons to death. A third son made his escape, and another, who was spared, was afterwards forced to become a monk. Brunechild was also put to death by order of Clotharius, who accordingly became possessed of all France in 613. (See *Abregé Chronol.* at *Clotharius II.*)

(67) Jonas, *cap.* 29.

(68) Baronius, Pagi, Mabillon, Muratori, &c. agree that 615 was the year of his death. As to the day some MSS. have, instead of *xī. Kal. Decembr. ix. Kal. &c.* But Mabillon (*Annal. &c. L. xi. §. 17.*) and Pagi (*Critic. &c. A. 615.*) show that the former is the true reading.

(69) It is usually supposed that Columbanus died at the age of 56, in consequence of its being said that he was only 30 years old in the year 589. (See above *Not.* 8—9. This cannot be reconciled with what Ado has (*ap. Mabillon, ib.*) viz. that he died *in senectute bona*. The age of 56 could not be called a *good old*

age. We have, besides, the authority of Columbanus himself to show, that he lived to be really old and beyond the age of 72. He concludes his beautiful poetical epistle to Fedolius with these lines:

Haec tibi dictâram morbus oppressus acerbis,
Corpore quos fragili patior *tristique senecta*.
Nam idum praecipiti labuntur tempora cursu,
Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senae venimus annos.
Omnia praetereunt, fugit irreparabile tempus.
Vive, vale laetus *tristique memento senectae*.

Thus, having reached the years of an eighteenth Olympiad, he was then 72 years old, reckoning, according to the correct mode, each Olympiad at 4 years. Mabillon (*ib.*) seems to think, that Columbanus allowed, as some have done, five years for each, and consequently that he was then 90 years of age. It is strange that he could have entertained this idea, or thought that Columbanus lived to even to 72, whereas he had laid down more than once, that he was no more than thirty in 589. But although Mabillon contradicts himself, the fact is that the saint lived to the age of at least 72, to which it is assigned in the *Histoire Littéraire* (See below *Not. 72.*) his writing the *Ep.* to Fedolius. That Columbanus did not reckon the Olympiad at five years is plain from the very stile of the epistle, which is too full of vigour and classic recollections, particularly Greek, to be supposed the work of a man of ninety. Next we may observe that, if Columbanus lived to complete his ninetieth year, and even admit that he did not exceed it, it will follow that, as he died in 615, he would have been 64 years old in 589 when leaving Ireland. Now who will imagine, that he would have waited until that age to set out on a spiritual expedition, which required great strength both of mind and body? How long he lived after writing the epistle to Fedolius cannot be determined; perhaps about two or three years. Fleming has (*Comment. ad Vitam S. C. p. 317. seqq.*) some speculations, not worth attending to, concerning the age and distribution of the years of St. Columbanus.

(70) Jonas, *cap. 29.*

§. XIV. The plan which I have proposed to myself, will not allow me to enlarge on the writings of this great and holy man, such as, besides those already mentioned, his sermons or instructions, poems, &c. They are not difficult of access, (71) and an account of them is still more within the reach of every curious reader. (72) Let it suffice to observe, that, as evidently appears from them, he was gifted with a superior and very elegant genius, and deeply versed not only in every branch of ecclesiastical learning, but likewise in the classical studies, both Latin and Greek. (73) It would be superfluous to adduce proofs of the extraordinary esteem and admiration, in which his memory has been held by the Western church, or to enumerate the great advantages derived to religion and morality from his exertions and example, and from the illustrious school formed by him, which continued for ages to enlighten many parts of Europe, particularly France. (74) I have nothing more to add, than that St. Columbanus, besides the Irish computation of Easter, continued to observe at Luxeu and elsewhere the liturgy, which St. Patrick had introduced into Ireland, and which was retained by his master Comgall of Bangor. (75)

(71) Those, who cannot procure Fleming's Collection, which is become very scarce, may consult the above referred to edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, A. 1677. Tom. 12. and the later ones. Usher has published some of the saint's tracts, particularly Poems in the *Rer. Hib. Sylloge*.

(72) An Analysis of Columbanus's works is given by Dupin, (*Bibliothèque*, &c. and with great accuracy in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, by the Benedictines, Tom. 3. where the reader will find a nice inquiry into also his works that are lost. Harris, (*Writers*.) has an enumeration of those contained in Fleming's Collection.

(73) His acquaintance with the Latin poets is visible in the letter to Hunaldus, and with the Greek ones in that to Fedolius.

He must have acquired this classical learning before he went abroad, and before his whole time was occupied by governing monasteries, preaching the Gospel, and communicating religious instruction. This is one of the proofs of the attention paid in Ireland to the study of the *Belles Lettres*, at a time, when they were neglected in many other parts of Europe.

(74) Ordericus Vitalis writes, (*Histor. Eccl. L. 8. ad A. 1094.*) "Hic admirandae sanctitatis pater (Columbanus) inter præcipuos laboravit, signis et prodigiis gloriose inter terrigenas effulsit, et Spiritu sancto edoctus monachilem regulam edidit, priusque Gallis tradidit. Florentissimi de schola ejus monachi prodierunt, et in mundo, velut astra in firmamento, virtutibus miorerunt. Eustasius enim Luxoviensis, Agilus Resbacensis, Faro Meldensis, Audomaris Benoniensis, Philibertus Gemmeticoensis, aliique plures episcopi et abbates excellentissimæ processere religionis, quorum sanctitas evidentibus miraculis cœlitus ostensa est; ipsorumque studio in filiis Ecclesia insigniter propagata est.—In gestis etiam sæpe memoratur Audoëni Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et Noviomensis Eligii, aliorumque virorum, qui ab illo adunati sunt, ac ad pacem virtutum per ejus documenta proveci sunt." (Bellarmine (*De Scriptor. Eccles.*) says of Columbanus, that, "ut novus quidam apostolus, Angliam, Gallias, et Italiam mirifice illustravit." He might have added Germany. The memory of Columbanus is still highly respected in the North of Italy, and to him the beautifully situated town of San Columbano in the territory of Lodi owes its name.

(75) See Usher, p. 971.)

CHAP XIV.

Succession of Aidus or Hugh son of Anmireus, and other Irish monarchs, to the year 665—St. Cairlan archbishop of Armagh—Senach—Setna—St. Fintan surnamed Corach—Senach Garbh—Colman son of Comgell—St. Senell bishop of Maghbile—St. Sillan—St. Colman or Columbar son of Beognai—Colman, surnamed Elo.—Erection of Lann-elo—Linally—Colman son of Dairene—Doire-mor monastery founded by Colman—St. Pulcherius—St. Evin of Ros-mic-treoin—St. Barr or Finbarr bishop of Cork—His real name was Lochan—founds the monastery of Loch-eire—Cathedral of Cork—St. Domnoch, or Modomnoch—St. Domangart—Domangart of Slieve Donard—St. Scutin or Scothin—erects the cell called Teagh-Scothin—St. Berach of Cluain—Cairpthe—The holy virgin Faila—St. Sencha—Osnata, Muadhnata and Talulla, sisters of St. Molaisse.—St. Libhan or Libana—St. Schiria—Ethnea, Sodelbia and Cumania, daughters of king Aidus—Corcaria-caoin—St. Dêrbilia of Irras—St. Inella or Derinella—Difference in keeping the Paschal solemnity—Priests Fechin, Airendan, Failan, Coman, Commian, Colman, Ernan, Cronan and others—Petranus bishop of Lusk—Senach bishop of Armagh—St. Aidan or Modoc bishop of Ferns—First called Aodh—Was born in Inis-Breaghmuigh in the now county Cavan—Several establishments by him—Founds Ferns—Archbishoprick of Leinster annexed to Ferns—Guaire king of Connaught being dangerously ill relieved by the prayers of St. Maidoc—St. Colman of Kilmacduagh—Bishop Loman or Luman—Bishop Murgus—St. Ultan, bishop of Ardbraccan—Fergnaus or Virgnous, abbot of Hy—Segeneus abbot of Hy—Mac Laisre bishop of Armagh—Thomian

or Thoman, bishop of Armagh—St. Carthagh of Lismore, otherwise called Mochuda—erects the Monastery of Killtullach—And of Raithin or Raithen—Drew up a Rule for Monks—Consecrated bishop—Expelled from Raithen by king Blathmac—Constructed a cell at Ardfinan—Erected Lismore—Dies—St. Cuanna of Kill-chuanna—Mochua son of Mellain—Three Mochoemogs disciples of Carthagh—Gobban, Sraphan and Laseran, sons of Nessainn—Molua Lughayr—Aidan—Fiackna—Finluag—St. Libba or Molibba, probably the first bishop of Glendaloch—Dagan, Mobai and Menoc, three brothers of Molibba—Dispute between the Irish clergy, and those of Rome and the Anglo-Roman clergy on the Paschal festival.

SECT. I.

WHILE Columbanus was absent in the continent, the Irish monarchy fell into the hands of a succession of princes of various branches of the house of Niall. Aidus, or Hugh, son of Anmireus, having been killed early in 599, (1) was succeeded by Aidus, surnamed *Slani*, son of Diermit Mac Cervail, and Colman Rimhe son of Boetan the first, (2) who reigned jointly for six years. (3) The throne then devolved in 605 to another Aidus, surnamed *Uair-iohdnach*, son of Domnald the first, and grandson of Murchertach Mac-Era. (4) This Aidus, having ruled for seven years, (5) was succeeded in 612 by Malcovus or Moelcova, son of Aidus I. and grandson of Anmireus, who after a reign of about three years was killed fighting against Subhneus (Sweeny) Meann, (6) who became king of all Ireland in 615. Subhneus Meann was son of Fiachna, and grandson of Feradoch brother to Murchertach Mac-Era. Having reigned 13 years, he was killed by Congall Cloen, king of Ulster, and succeeded in 628 by

Domnald II., brother to Malcovus above mentioned, who died peaceably in the 14th year of his reign, A. D. 642. (7) Next after him his two nephews, Kellach and Conall, sons of Malcovus, reigned jointly for eight years until Conall was killed in 654 by Diermit son of Aidus Slani; after which Kellach reigned alone until 658. (8) These two brothers were succeeded by two other brothers, sons of Aidus Slani; viz. Diermit now mentioned, called Diermit II. and Blathmac, who reigned together for seven years until they were carried off by the great pestilence in 665. (9) I have followed the reigns of our kings down to this date, because it was during them that the third class of saints flourished, their period being comprized between some time after the reign of Aidus son of Annmireus and the year of the great pestilence. But, prior to entering on the history of the saints named in said class, it is necessary to touch upon that of some distinguished persons, who belonged partly to its times, and partly to those which preceded them.

(1) See *Chap. XII. §. 5.*

(2) See *ib.*

(3) O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* Part. III. cap. 93. These two kings were killed, Aidus by Conal Guthbin, and Colman by Lochan Dilman. *Tr. Th. p. 448.*

(4) See *Chap. XII. §. 5.*

(5) *Ogyg. loc-cit.*

(6) *Ib.* and *Tr. Th. p. 448.* O'Flaherty gives Malcovus the surname of *Clericus*. Is it for his having been invested with some clerical order? Or merely because he was a pious prince?

(7) *Ogyg. ib.* Compare with *Tr. Th. p. 448.* (where, however, the dates as to the vulgar era run different) and with Ware, *Antiq. cap. 4.* Domnald II. was that son of Aidus I. son of Annmireus, whose prosperity Columbkil had foretold at Drumceast. See *Chap. XII. Not. 200.*

(8) Ware, *ib.* Colgan (*Tr. Th. ib.*) following the 4 Masters agrees with Ware as to Conall having been killed by Diermit before the death of Kellach. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg. ib.*) differs from them all. According to him Kellach died before Conall, who, he

says, reigned four years after him, viz. until 658. This seems very probable; for, as Diermit, who killed Conall, became afterwards king, it may be conjectured that he got possession of the throne immediately after his antagonist, in which case Conall would have been his immediate predecessor. As to our church history, this question is of very little importance.

(9) Ware and O'Flaherty, *loc. cit.* See also Usher, *p.* 947.

§. 11. St. Cairlan, archbishop of Armagh, having held the see for ten years, died on the 24th of March 588, (10) and was succeeded by Eochaid, son of Diermit, concerning whom it is merely stated, that he also governed said see during about ten years, and died some time in 598. (11) Next after him was Senach, of whom nothing is recorded, except that he died in 610, and was succeeded by Mac-Laisre, of whom more hereafter. We find a Setna bishop of Saigir, contemporary with St. Molua of Clonfertmulloa, (12) and who accordingly lived towards the close of the sixth century. (13) His memory is said, but on weak authority, to have been revered on the 10th March. (14) St. Fintan, surnamed Corach, bishop of Clonfert, is said to have flourished in this period. (15) He had presided over a church at a place called Leamchuill (16) in Leinster, and, according to some accounts, even over the monastery of Clonenagh. (17) It is stated, that he either founded or governed a church also at Cluainmaithchin (18) in Leix. He became afterwards bishop and abbot at Clonfert, (19) and died on a 21st of February, but whether at Clonfert or elsewhere is uncertain. (20) It is said that he was succeeded, at least, as abbot, by Senach Garbh, who died in 621; (21) and, after him by Colman, son of Comgell. (22) According to our Annals a St. Senell, bishop of Maghbile or Moville, died in 603, and a St. Sillan, likewise bishop in the same place, in 619; (23) having been probably the immediate successor of Senell. St. Colman, or as other.

wise called Columban son of Beognai and of the race of Sailni (24) became a bishop some time after the death of his friend Columbkil, whom he survived by several years. It cannot be doubted that he was the same as the celebrated Colman surnamed *Elo* or *Ela*. (25) He was a native of Meath, but spent many of his earlier years in the diocese of Conor, and, while there, is said to have erected a church and monastery at Muckamore, (26) a place two miles distant from Antrim. Returning to his own country, he found king Aidus son of Anmirech (Anmiraeus) and several other persons assembled, among whom were Columbkil and St. Cannich. This was most probably in the year 590, after Columbkil had gone from Drumceat to visit his monastery of Durrogh. It was proposed to the assembly by Columbkil, that a spot of ground should be granted to their relative Colman, (27) where he might establish a monastery. Aidus Flan, or rather Slani, prince of Meath, and afterwards king of Ireland, who was present, said that there was a large forest called *Fidh-elo* in the district of Fercall in the southern part of his principality, where he might settle if he liked. Colman accepted of the offer, and said; "There shall be my resurrection, and henceforth I shall be named from that place." In fact, he was thence surnamed *Elo*, and constantly called *Colman-elo*, latinized into *Colmanellus*. (28) To the monastery, which he erected there, and which became very famous, was given the name of *Land-elo* (29) or or *Lann-elo*, that is, the house or church of *Elo*, now Linally or Lynally in the King's county. (30) This foundation, according to every appearance, took place in or very soon after the year 590. (31) We find Colman-elo, while still a priest, on a visit to Columbkil at Hy in 597, some short time prior to that saint's death. (32) Afterwards he became a bishop, but in what year or by whom consecrated,

I cannot discover. (33) This saint has enjoyed a great reputation, and died in 610 (34) on the 26th of September, and in the 56th year of his age. (35)

(10) See *Chap. xii. §. 1.*

(11) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 293.*) has 597, that is, 598. He was not able to mark the day or the month of his death, but observes that several Eochuids are named in the Calendars at different days, and that, if he was one of them, he might be the Eochuid of the 1st of January. This vague conjecture is, I am sure, the only authority, that Ware had (*Bishops*) for assigning his death to that month.

(12) *AA. SS. ad 10 Mart.*

(13) Compare with *Chap. xii. §. 7.*

(14) Colgan treats of Setna or Sedna at 10 March, to which he assigns him for no other reason than that he found in some calendars a Sedonius marked at that day. Yet he was doubtful whether this Sedonius might not have been the disciple of St. Senan, whose history we have touched on, (*Not. 35. to Chap. xi.*) and who also is treated of at said day by Colgan. See more about Setna of Saigir, *Not. 48. ib.*

(15) Ware says, (*Bishops at Clonfert*) "about the end of the sixth century." He borrowed this from Colgan, who speaks rather doubtingly of it at 21 Feb. where he treats of Fintan Corach. Yet the matter is not improbable, if it be true that he was succeeded, either as bishop and abbot, or only as abbot, by Senach Garbh, who, according to the 4 Masters, died in 620 (621). There are, however, some difficulties in the way, of which lower down.

(16) Archdall has it in the Queen's county, where it borders on the barony of Fassaghding, co. Kilkenny.

(17) If this be true, and there are divers authorities for it, Fintan Corach must have lived later than the time mentioned by Ware. For the Fintan, who was abbot of Clonenagh in the latter end of the 6th century, and until 626, was Maeldubh. (See *Not. 174 to Chap. xii.*) Nor can it be said that perhaps they were not different persons; for, without enlarging on other arguments, it is

sufficient to observe, that F. Maeldubh's name is in the calendars at 20 October, while F. Corach's is placed at 21 Feb. If we may suppose, that he was not abbot of Clonenagh but a simple monk there, this difficulty may be got over; but the whole business is so confused and clogged with other difficulties, that I am not able to unravel it.

(18) I strongly suspect, that *Cluainaitchin* has been mistaken for *Cluainedhnech* (Clonenagh.) The Calendar of Cashel, which mentions it, has not F. Corach at Clonenagh; and *vice versa* in most of those, that have Clonenagh, we do not find *Cluainaitchin*. In this hypothesis the difficulty arising from placing him at Clonenagh will disappear.

(19) Marian Gorman says of him; *Episcopus de Cluanferta Brendani*. Others speak of him as abbot.

(20) We read of him in the Calendar of Cashel; "Fintanus Corach quiescit in Leamchulit inter Hy-duach et Laighis, vel in Cluainaitchin, vel in Cluainferta Brendani. Dicitur autem Corach, quia peregrinaturus sponsores dedit, se aut vivum aut mortuum reversurum."

(21) See *Not.* 15.

(22) The only authority I can find for making Fintan Corach predecessor at Clonfert of Senach and Colman is Aengus Kelideus, or rather, I think, (although Colgan is of a different opinion) a later scholiast on Aengus. He does not call them bishops; yet, as Fintan was one, it is probable that so were the two latter, who are omitted by Ware, but mentioned by Harris (at *Clonfert*.) The 4 Masters quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p.* 247.) place Colman's death in the same year with that of Senach, *viz.* in 620 (621.) The above mentioned scholiast says that Fintan, Senach, and Colman were three black Doms, *tres nigri domini*. Colgan (at 21 Feb.) explains these words as an allusion to the Benedictine habit, which, he says, was the only black one used by monks in those days. But he ought to have known that there were no Benedictines then in Ireland, and that the black habit was not prescribed to that order any where at that early period. The first mention of *black monks* occurs in the deed (*ap.* Ingulf.) of king Ethelbald for the monastery of Croyland, A. D. 716. If the scholiast meant in that passage the colour of a religious dress, he must have written at a time when such a colour became peculiar to some monks,

whether Benedictines or others, in Ireland, perhaps as late as the 11th century, and supposed that the then practice had been also that of the ancients. Perhaps he alluded not to the habit, but to the colour of those persons skins as being of a blackish hue. Nothing was more usual in Ireland than to denominate men from their complexion, and we find in our history heaps of *Dubhs*, *nigri*, i. e. swarthy persons, *Finns*, *Whites*, fair-complexioned, &c. But the phrase *domini*, seems to indicate the Benedictine order, the members of which, as also some other monks began, in the middle ages, to be distinguished from those of the mendicant orders by the title *Dominus*, contracted into *Domnus*, and changed by the French into *Dom*, such as *ex. c.* Dom Mabillon, Dom Montfaucon, &c. And it is very probable, that the Scholiast's intention was to exhibit Fintan, &c. as Benedictines, in which case we may suppose that he was himself of that order.

(23) *Annal.* 4 Masters, and Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 650. Their dates are 602 and 618, the same in fact as our 603 and 619. Concerning those two prelates I can find no further account. Merville has been often mentioned already, particularly in the account of Finnian founder of its monastery.

(24) Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c. 5.*) heads the chapter with these words; "De periculo S. *Colmani* episcopi Mocusallni;" but in the following text he calls him Columbanus son of Beognai, and mentions the danger he was in of being lost at sea. (See *Not.* 182. to *Chap.* xi.) Although Adamnan here calls him a bishop, yet it will be seen, that he was not one until after the death of Columbkille.

(25) Usher, (p. 1065) while he distinguishes Colman-Elo from Colmanel mentioned by Joceline, yet makes him the same as the Colman or Columban of Adamnan.

(26) The oldest writer, that, as far as I know, mentions this foundation of Muckamore, is Joceline, who (*cap.* 96) introduces St. Patrick as foretelling that Colmanel would there erect a church, &c. and would afterwards be a bishop and legate of all Ireland. Usher (p. 1065.) imagined, that Joceline's Colmanel was the same as Colman of Dromore, and led astray Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29. and *Bishops* at Dromore.) This mistake has been copied into Butler's *Lives of Saints* (at *Colman of Dromore 7th June*)

and, connected with another mistake of Usher as to Colmanel having been born in 516, has caused great confusion in the history of Colman of Dromore. (See *Note 5. and 6. to Chap. ix.*) The fact is that Colmanel, *al.* Colmanalli was no other than Colman-elo, whose memory was famous at Connor, as appears from his Life quoted by Usher, *p.* 960. Colgan expressly states (*Tr. Th. p.* 374.) that the person, called in Latin, as *ex. c.* by Joceline, *Colmanellus*, is Colman-elo, son of Beognai and the Colman of Adamnan. And what Usher calls the Life of Colman-elo is called by Colgan that of Colmanel. In this Life he is represented as the son of Beognai. He lived also at a later period than Colman of Dromore, who was perhaps dead before Colmanel was born; (See *Chap. ix. §. 1.*) and Colgan was mistaken (*Tr. Th. p.* 113.) in making him a disciple of Macnissi the first bishop of Connor, having misunderstood a passage in Colmanel's Life, where, on mention being made of Connor, it is said that the most blessed bishop Macnissi *lies there*. Strange that he could have supposed Colmanel, who lived, as he well knew, until 610, to have been a scholar of that bishop, whose death, as we have often seen, occurred, at the latest, in 514.

(27) In Colman-elo's Life we read, that Columbkil said to the assembly consisting principally of Nialls; "Date agrum bonum sancto Colmano *fratri nostro*," &c. Hence it appears, that although of the race of Sailni, he was connected with the Nialls; and in fact he is stated in said Life to have been of the family of Niall.

(28) See *Not. 26.*

(29) Usher *p.* 961.

(30) It is the barony of Ballycowen, and 4 miles south of Durrough.

(31) I have said that the meeting in Meath, before which Colman-elo appeared, seems to have been in 590. It was after Columbkil had been established at Hy; for, as will be seen, Colman-elo was still a boy in 563, the year of that establishment. We know that Columbkil was in Meath in 590, on occasion of his visiting Durrough, which belonged to the ancient Meath. It is true, that he might have been there also at some other time between 563 and 590. (See *Not. 181. to Chap. xi.*) But if we consider, that Colman-elo was only about 36 years old in 590, and that he had spent many years in the diocese of Connor before

he attended at that assembly, there is every reason to believe, that this was the year in which it was held, and consequently that, or nearly so, of the foundation of Lann-elo.

(32) Adamnan relates, (*L. 2. c. 15.*) that, when the holy priest Columbanus, son of Beognai, had just set out from Hy on his return to Ireland, Columbkil foretold that they would never see each other again; which was verified by the event, for Columbkil died in that very year. Hence it is clear, that, as above hinted at, (*Not. 24.*) Colman-elo, *al.* Columbanus, &c. was not raised to the episcopacy until after Columbkil's death.

(33) Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 374.*) most strangely imagined, that Colman-elo was consecrated bishop at Hy, and during the life time of Columbkil. He confounded him with a Columban, who is mentioned in the Life of St. Ita as a bishop in her time, and said to have been consecrated in Hy. But Colman-elo was quite too young to be a bishop before 570, the year in which St. Ita died. Besides, we know from Adamnan, (*Not. prec.*) that Colman-elo was only a priest when returning from Hy to Ireland. The Columban, spoken of in said Life, was very probably Columbanus Mocu-Loigse, a Leinster bishop, for whom Columbkil had a great regard, and whom he survived. (See *Not. 182 to Chap. xi.*) Some writers speak of Colman-elo as only an abbot; but from the testimony of Adamnan, and from his having been the bishop Colmanel of Joceline, (See *Not. 26.*) it must be allowed that he was raised to the episcopal rank. Why the latter has given him the title of *Legate of Ireland*, it would be useless to inquire. We had no apostolic legates in those days.

(34) Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, 4 Masters, &c. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) Colgan *passim*, *ex. c.* (*Tr. Th. p. 374.*) I believe with Ware, (*Writers, L. 1. cap. 13.*) that for the 610 of the Annals we ought to substitute 611.

(35) The 26th of September is the day constantly assigned for his death, and accordingly Usher has (*Ind. &c. at 610*) vi. *Kalend. Octobris*. Yet through some mistake we find, in *p. 961. Novembris*, instead of *Octobris*. That he died in the 56th year of his age is laid down by the 4 Masters, and Colgan, (*Tr. Th. p. 374.*, and *ib.*, (*Ind. Chron.*) an assertion, which I find no sufficient reason for contradicting. Deducting from the year 611, we may conclude, that he was born in 555 or 556. Poor Archdall hav-

ing, (at *Muckamore*) in spite of Usher and every body else, confounded Colman-elo with Colman of Dromore, tells us (at *Lynally*) that he was born in 516. And why? Because Usher, erroneously indeed, (See *Not.* 26) placed in said year the birth of Colman of Dromore.

§. III. Another bishop Colman, commonly called son of Dairene, or, more correctly, Daire (36) flourished in those times, and somewhat later than Colman Elo. He was of the royal blood of the kings of Cashel, (37) and a lineal descendant of the celebrated king Aengus. (38) Of his early transactions I meet with no account; but he was a bishop during the reign of Failbhe Fland, king of Cashel, who ascended the throne in 619, and died in 634. (39) How soon he became distinguished, cannot be ascertained; nor is there any foundation for the assertion of some writers, that he flourished as early as the year 570. (40) Colman resided in a monastery, founded by himself, at Doire-mor (great grove) in the district of Eile, and province of Munster, near the borders of Leinster. (41) Failbhe Fland had on some occasion injured Colman, upon which he applied to St. Pulcherius, who had great influence over the king, to accompany him to the court for the purpose of obtaining redress. (42) When they had represented the case, the king refused to comply with Colman's demand, and spoke in a haughty tone. Pulcherius then said to him: "It does not become you to answer in this manner to a great pontiff, (43) who is most holy in the sight of God, and not inferior to you according to the nobility of this world; for ye are of the same stock." (44) Pulcherius, continuing his discourse reprimanded the king so severely, that, being greatly terrified, he granted what was required of him. It is a misfortune, that, excepting what has been now touched upon, scarcely any thing else, not even as to the year of his death, is come down to us concerning this eminent saint. His festival was kept

at Doire-mor on the 20th of May, the anniversary of his heavenly birth. (45) About this period lived, although he was earlier than some of those now treated of, St. Evin, likewise of the royal house of Munster, and called of Ros-mic-treoin, now Old Ross in the county of Wexford, not far from the river Barrow, whom I find titled not only *abbot* but *bishop*. (46) He is said, yet on very slight foundation, to have written a Life of St. Patriek. (47) He was contemporary with St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, who paid him a visit at Ros-mic-treoin, where Evin was then abbot, and performed miracles. (48) Although Evin died before Molua, it is probable that he lived until the close of the sixth century. His death, however, was prior to 602, having occurred during the reign of Brandubh, king of Leinster. (49) The day of it was a 22d of December, at which his name appears in several Irish calendars. (50)

(86) See Life of St. Pukherius, *cap.* 16, at 11 *Mart.* The change of *Daire* into *Dairene*, or *Darene*, was probably the cause of the unchronological fable of Colman having been an immediate son of Aengus, king of Cashel, by a Dairne, who is said to have been his wife. (See *Not.* 95 to *Chap.* VIII.)

(87) In the said Life (*ib.*) we read; "*Colmanus episcopus de gente regali Mumoniae, id est, Eoganacht, natus est.*" By the addition, *Eoganacht*, the author meant to point out Cashel, near which that territory lay, and which was then the residence of the kings of all Munster, whether of the Eugenic or Dalcassian line.

(88) In many of our old documents he is called son of Aengus. (See *AA. SS.* p. 174 and 597.) This must be understood of his having been a descendant of his; for how could a man, who, as will be seen, was alive and vigorous after the year 619, have been the immediate son of that king, who was killed in 490? (See *Chap.* VIII. §. 8.)

(89) Finghin or Finine, king of Cashel, died in 619, and was immediately succeeded by his brother Failbhe Fland. (*Law of Tanistry, &c.* in Vallancey's *Collectan.* Vol. 1.) Colgan says;

(*AA. SS. p. 597.*) that the Irish Annals place Failbhe's death in 633 (634). Hence it appears how much mistaken O'Halloran was (*History, &c. B. VIII. Chap. 4.*) in assigning the accession of Failbhe Fland to A. D. 546. According to another account his reign did not begin even as early as 619; for it is said that he died in the eighth year of it. (*AA. SS. p. p. 561.*) Add that he was the fourth in descent from Aengus. See the pedigree of M'Carthy-mor (Eugenian line) at the end of Keating's History, &c.

(40) This date was started by Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) on mere conjecture. Had he known at what period Failbhe Fland reigned, whose name he met with more than once in the Life of Pulcherius, or, as he quotes it, (*p. 960.*) Mocoemog, he would have given us a different one. He has been copied by others, such as Archdall, (at *Kilcolman*) &c. Even Colgan, though acquainted with the times of this king, implicitly quotes Usher's words without any observation, (*AA. SS. p. 193.*) and, with a still more extraordinary anachronism, makes Colman a disciple of St. Patrick, (*Tr. Th. p. 260.*)

(41) "Ipse enim (Colmanus) erat in suo monasterio, quod Scotice dicitur *Doire-mor*, id est *nemus magnum*; et est positum in confinio Mumuniensium et Lageniensium; sed tamen positum est in regione Mumuniensium, in regione scilicet Eile." *Life of Pulcherius, cap. 16.* The district of Eile, or Ely O'Carrol, is now comprized in the King's county, and Doire-mor is called Kilcolman, a place in the barony of Ballybrit, and diocese not of Meath, as Archdall says, but of Killaloe. Harris (*Monast.*) confounds Doire-mor with Lynally, although several miles distant from each other, as if the Colman we are now treating of were the same as Colman-elo, whom he makes no mention of.

(42) It is thus that the cause of Pulcherius having accompanied Colman seems to be hinted at in the Life of the former. But it is very probable, that the true and only cause was, that Colman being a bishop, required of Pulcherius to attend him as a companion. Colman could not have been shy as to calling on the king, being very nearly related to him through their common ancestor Aengus.

(43) *Summo pontifici.* Elsewhere also in said Life this title is given to Colman on account of his great sanctity.

(44) Said Life, *cap. 22.*

(45) *AA. SS. p. 597.*

(46) *Ib.* p. 215. Yet he is usually called only *abbot*. In the Life of St. Corbmac, (at 26 *March*) who was of the royal blood of Munster, of the Eugenic line, Evin, *al.* Emhin, is stated to have been a brother of his. Having left his own country, he went to the neighbourhood of the Barrow and erected, according to said Life, a monastery at Roamictreoin, which, from the number of Munster men, who followed him thither, was called also *Ros-glas-na-Muimneach*. According to other accounts this monastery was founded by St. Abban, but afterwards governed by Evin. Had we no other authority for this position than the fabulous Life of Abban; in which it occurs, (see below *Chap.* xvii. §. 4.) it might be set aside; but we find it also in the Life of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua. It may, however, be suspected, that it slipped into this Life from that of Abban. As the matter is of little consequence, I shall not enter into a dispute about it. That Roamictreoin was the same place as what is now called Old Ross is clear from its being described as in South Leinster, and near the boundaries of that province. (See *AA. SS.* p. 623, and 751.) It is said (*ib.*) that it was called also *Ros-glas*, as indeed the appellation *Ros-glas-na-Muimneach* indicates. But it must not be confounded with another *Ros-glas* in rather a northern part of Leinster, which is the place now called Monasterevan. (See below *Chap.* xxix. §. 14. and *ib.* *Not.* 89.)

(47) Joceline, (*cap.* 186.) attributes such a work to St. Evin. But, as there were other saints of that name, and in later times, it is uncertain which of them was the author of it. (See more, *Chap.* iii. §. 5.) To one of the late ones must be ascribed some Lives of saints, such as of Comgall, &c. said to have been written by a St. Evin. (See *AA. SS.* p. 192-215.)

(48) *Life of Molua.* See also *Tr. Th.* p. 170.

(49) Colgan (*Tr. Th.* *ib.*) refers to the Life of St. Evin for this statement, and observes, from the 4 Masters, that Brandubh died in 601 (602).

(50) *AA. SS.* p. 215.

§. iv. St. Barr, or Finbarr, commonly called of Cork, is usually supposed to have been distinguished, and raised to the episcopacy about the beginning of the 7th century. (51) This is not improbable, if it

be true that he was contemporary with St. Maidoc of Ferns, and had been acquainted with St. David of Menevia in Wales. He was a native of Connaught, of the sept of Hy-Briuin ratha ; (52) and his real name was *Lochan*, so that *Finn-barr*, (white-haired) contracted into *Barr*, must be considered only as his surname. Barr is said to have been taught in Leinster by one Mac-corb, who is pretended to have been at Rome and to have there heard the instructions of Pope Gregory the great. (53) If this be admitted, it will follow, that Barr must have been too young about the year 600 to be then a bishop, and that he did not begin to be distinguished until several years later. (54) But, although I find no reason for denying, that Mac-corb was the master of Barr, yet we are not bound to believe that he had been a disciple or hearer of Pope Gregory, whose name has, owing to its celebrity, been more than once introduced into the Lives of some of our saints without any foundation. (55) Barr is said to have gone in company with St. Maidoc to Britain, and even to Rome, accompanied by St. David. (56) Passing over this Roman expedition, (57) it is probable that Barr spent some time with St. David, who lived until late in the sixth century, (58) and that about the beginning of the next he founded his monastery near Loch-eire (59) on ground granted to him by a nobleman of the name of Edo, and lying at the South side of the river Lee. (60) It is said, that a multitude of persons flocked to this monastery for instruction, and that the afflux was so great, that said place was changed into a large city. (61) This, however, must be understood as having taken place gradually, and after a long lapse of time: (62) And as to the number of St. Barr's disciples, there is no doubt of its having been greatly exaggerated. (63) Another part of this pompous narrative is his having erected the cathedral of Cork, (64) as if it were different from the church belonging to the mo-

nastery. Barr became certainly a bishop, as many other abbots did ; but the accounts of his successors as bishops are very imperfect until a long time after his death. (65) After an episcopacy of 17 years, (66) he died on a 25th of September it is said, at Cloyne, (67) but was buried at Cork. The year of his death is not known ; perhaps it was about A. D. 623. (68) Several eminent disciples of this saint are spoken of ; but Nesson is the only one among them, whose history is sufficiently clear, and of whose right to that title no doubt can be entertained. (69)

(51) Ware, *Antiq. asp.* 29. At *Bishops* he does not mention the time of Barr's being a bishop ; but Harris has inserted into his text *the beginning of the seventh century.*

(52) The district of Hy-Briuin-ratha was a few miles to the East and N. E. of the now town of Galway, and comprized the present barony of Athenry. (See *Oxygia*, p. 376. and Harris, *Antiq. chap.* 7.)

(53) Life of Barr, *cap.* 15.

(54) Upon the supposition of Mac-corb having heard Pope Gregory, Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) brings down the time of St. Barr's flourishing until 630. Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 607.) strove to patch up the business, by stating, that Mac-corb had been an auditor of Gregory before he was made Pope. Harris, following Usher, adds, to his making Barr a bishop in the *beginning* of the 7th century, *Flor. circ.* 630. Bravo !

(55) See *Not.* 125 to *Chap.* xi. and 94 to *Chap.* xii. Yet there may be some truth in what is said about Mac-corb's having come from Rome to Ireland. In a Life of St. Senan it is stated, that in his time, yet many years before that of Gregory, 50 Roman monks arrived in Ireland. (See *Chap.* x. §. 1.) Some of these monks are there said to have been fixed in the establishment of St. Barr of Cork. This is indeed an anachronism ; for Barr could have had no establishment at that early period. But Barr's master might have been one of those Roman or rather continental monks. (See *ib.* *Not.* 6.) And, instead of supposing that any of them were entrusted to his care, it may be conjectured, that one of them was his master. It may be objected, that Mac-corb ap-

pears to be an Irish name. He might, however, have got this name in Ireland, by giving a Galic turn to his real name, as was often done; ex. c. *Phadrug* for *Patricius*, *Seachlain* for *Secundinus*, &c. Hanmer (*Chronicle*, &c. p. 108 *New. Ed.*) from a Life of Barr says, that his master was a bishop Torperus a disciple of Gregory. If supposed to have been the son of a man called *Corbus* or *Corvus*, the Irish might have called him *Mac-corb*. But the whole matter is so obscure, that it is useless to enlarge on it. It is better worth remarking that, as Hanmer says, Barr was a child when Brendan of Clonfert was old, that is, about 570.

(56) Life of Barr, *cap.* 28, and *AA. SS.* p. 221.

(57) In the Life of St. David (*cap.* 18.) Barr is mentioned, not as having travelled with him to Rome, but as paying him a visit on his return thence. Many a Roman journey of this kind, that never took place, is spoken of in the lives of our saints of those times. This visit of Barr to St. David is that, to which Giraldus Cambrensis alludes (See Usher, p. 953.) in his Life of David, where he calls Barr *Barrocius*.

(58) See *Chap.* ix. §. 9.

(59) In Barr's Life we read; (*cap.* 20.) "*S. Barrius venit ad lacum, qui Scotice Loch-eire dicitur, juxta quem construxit monasterium,*" &c. This lake, or rather marsh, was, in all appearance, in the hollow part of the now city of Cork. That this spot was formerly a marsh is universally admitted, and the Irish name of Cork, *Corcach*, is alone a sufficient proof it. I may here observe, that Smith (*History of Cork.* v. 1, p. 368.) was strangely mistaken in making this Corcach and Corcach-Bascoin the same; for the latter was a district of the now county of Clare. (See *Chap.* ix. §. 4.) *Bascoin* or *Baschin* was added to its name, to distinguish it from several other places called *Corcach*.

(60) Hanmer, *loc. cit.*

(61) Barr's Life, *cap.* 20.

(62) Smith (*ib.* p. 369.) says that, according to the received opinion, Cork was founded by the Danes. Yet it must be admitted, that, as usual, a village arose near Barr's monastery, situated in a part of the present city, and which gradually swelled into a town of note even before the arrival of that nation.

(63) The school of St. Barr, or of his monastery, is little spoken of in our more ancient documents, and it is only in the

the tract, called his Life, that we find any pompous account of it. This tract was evidently written at a late period, and a time when Cork, which indeed owed its origin to the monastery, had risen to the rank of a respectable city. We have already seen, (*Chap. xii. §. 4.*) that St. Fachnan of Ross-carberry (*Rosailithri*) has, without any foundation, been reckoned among his disciples, and (*ib. §. 8.*) corrected the mistake of those, who have ranked in the same class St. Colman of Cloyne.

(64) It is thus that Ware expresses himself, (*Antiq. cap. 29.*) but (at *Bishops*) he makes no mention of a *cathedral*.

(65) Ware (*Bishops*) reckons Nesson, and some others after him, (but so late as the eighth century) as successors of Barr in the see of Cork. Nesson was not a bishop, as appears from the account given of him by Colgan, who treats of him at 17 *Mart.* and calls him a priest. Smith, having confounded Nesson of Cork with Nesson of Mungret, who died in 552. (See *Chap. xi. §. 6.*) found himself (*History, &c. v. 1. p. 369.*) puzzled as to the period, in which Barr his master lived. But had he looked with more care than he did into the *AA. SS.* he would have found, that these two Nessons are accurately distinguished by Colgan. (17 *Mart. p. 629.*) Nesson of Cork, although a disciple of Barr, and revered at Cork, where he was buried, does not seem to have been abbot of the monastery. A Russin son of Lappain is called Comorban of Barr, that is, successor, in the Life of St. Molagga at 20 *Jan.* Hence Colgan (*ib. p. 150.*) and after him Harris conclude, that he was bishop of Cork. But the title, *Comorban*, is not alone sufficient to prove it; for the successors of abbots, as well as of bishops, were distinguished by that epithet, and Russin might have been so called as being a successor of Barr merely in the government of the monastery. The 4 Masters, who are usually careful to mark the episcopal rank of persons whenever they met with it, call Russin only *abbot of Cork*, who, according to them, died A. D. 685 (686.) Yet from other circumstances it appears quite certain that he was also a bishop. This, however, does not prove, that every abbot of Barr's monastery was likewise raised to that rank. Having touched upon this subject, I may be allowed to make an observation on a fable, to be met with in some late writers, of there having been at one time (about A. 800) seven hundred monks and 17 bishops in that

monastery. This story is founded on a misrepresentation of a passage of the Litanies of Aengus Kelideus, in which he invokes the assistance of the 17 bishops and 700 servants of God, who (*i. e.* whose remains) *lie* at Cork with St. Barr and St. Nessian. (See *AA. SS.* p. 630.) This mention of 17 bishops is very favourable to the opinion of there having been a regular succession of prelates there after St. Barr; but we have no certainty, that they were all bishops of Cork, properly speaking; for it was quite usual in Ireland to raise pious monks to the episcopacy without giving them fixed sees. Add that the *chorepiscopi*, of whom we had great numbers, were styled *bishops*, and that perhaps no small part of those seventeen belonged to that class.

(66) Some say seven years. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap.* 29 and Harris at *Cork*.)

(67) Hanmer says that he had gone to visit Calangus abbot of Cloane (Cloyne), and there met with his death.

(68) Archdall (at *Cork*) refers to a MS. of Conry for the foundation of the monastery in 606, a date, which agrees very well with the most credible account of the time, in which Barr was distinguished. If we suppose, as is highly probable, that, when founding it, he was a bishop, and add the 17 years of his incumbency, his death may be assigned to 623.

(69) See *Not.* 65. The names of the other distinguished persons, said to have been disciples of Barr, may be seen in *AA. SS.* p. 680 and 750. In the passage there quoted from Barr's Life it is stated, that all of them, and others likewise who are not named, established monasteries in divers places, and dedicated them and themselves to St. Barr and his successors. The writer's meaning was, that these new monasteries were or had been subordinate to that of Cork. This is an assertion, for which there should be better authority than his, at least with regard to the whole of them. Thus, in his partiality for the house of Cork, of which he was most probably a member, he reckons among those disciples St. Facundus or Fachnan of Ros-alithri, although it is certain that this saint was prior to Barr. (See *Chap.* XII. §. 4.) He has in that list a St. Garbhan or Garvan, of whom Colgan treats at 26 *Mart.* (p. 750.) where he makes him the same as a Garbhan of Achadh-Garbhan, whose name occurs at that day in the calendars. Colgan threw out a conjecture, that Achad-Garbhan was

perhaps the place now called Dungarvan. Following this conjecture, Harris (*Monast.*) considers them as one and the same place, and Archdall lays it down as a fact that Garbhan, a disciple of Barr, founded an abbey at Dungarvan, although he could not discover any vestige of it. The conjecture itself is very weak. *Achadh* and *Dun* have quite different meanings; the one signifies a *field*, and the other a *fort*; and the town of Dungarvan, in all probability, owes its name not to a monk but to a chieftain. Some of the monasteries ascribed to the so called disciples of Barr might have been colonies from that of Cork, established from time to time at various periods after his death.

§. v. It now remains to touch upon the history of some other distinguished persons, not bishops, who are mentioned as ornaments of the Irish church in the latter part of the sixth century. St. Domnoch, or Modomnoch, (70) a disciple of St. David, was of the princely house of the Nialls, son of Saranus, and fourth in descent from Eugene, one of the sons of Neill Neigilliach. Scarcely any thing is recorded of the earlier part of his life, except that, when returning to his own country, after he had completed his studies in Wales, he brought with him swarms of bees, which, it has been strangely said, were the first seen in Ireland. (71) He settled at a place, called Tiprad-Fachtna in Ossory near the river Suir (now Tibrach, co. Kilkenny), where his memory was revered on the 13th of February, whether as the anniversary of his death or not, is uncertain. As to the year, in which he died, no account remains; nor does it appear whether his establishment at Tibrach was a monastery or simply a church. A St. Domangart, whose name occurs in one of our hagiologies, is said to have been a brother of his. (72) He must not be confounded with another St. Domangart, once very celebrated, from whom is derived the name of Slieve Donard (the mountain of Domangart) in the county of Down, at the foot of which he is said to have erected a great monastery. (73) At what

time this Domangart of Slieve-Donard lived cannot be ascertained, and his history is very obscure. That he was not a disciple of St. Patrick is plain from the very statement of those, who pretend that he was; (74) and according to other accounts he must have lived after the period we are now treating of. (75) My making mention of him in this place is owing merely to my having met with the name of a St. Domangart in these times, and it will be sufficient to add, that I find him called bishop, (76) and that his festival was kept on the 24th of March in two churches at Slieve Donard. (77)

(70) I need scarcely apprise the reader, that *Modomnoch* means *my Domnoch*. This saint is called *Modomnoch* in the Life of St. David published by Colgan. In the one written by Giraldus Cambrensis the name has been corrupted into *Mandabnaucus*, as Usher has it. (p. 953.) Giraldus elsewhere (*Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 1. c. 5.) latinizes it into *Dominicus*, in consequence of which Usher was led astray so as to think that Dominicus Ossoriensis, as Giraldus calls him, was a different person from Mandabnaucus. Colgan has (at 13 Feb.) such Acts of Domnoch as he was able to collect.

(71) This curious anecdote is mentioned not only in the Lives of St. David just referred to, but likewise in the passage of Giraldus's *Topogr.* &c. there marked, and, what seems of more weight, in the Calendar of Cashel and in the Life of St. Molagga (See *AA. SS.* p. 327.) Solinus had said, that in his time there were no bees in Ireland. It is more than probable that he was mistaken in this point, as he certainly was in what he adds concerning the scarcity of birds. I suspect that this importation of bees by St. Domnoch is a story made up to account for the scarcity of them at Menevia; for Giraldus (Life of David) says, that they continued to fall off there from the time of the swarms having followed Domnoch to Ireland, and he tells us (as stated also in the other Life) that Domnoch was, when with St. David at Menevia, charged with the care of the bee-hives. Now, as it happened that the number of bees in that district began to decrease, some wisacre undertook to explain this phenomenon by

saying, that they accompanied Domnoch on his return to Ireland. This story made its way over to us before the times of Giraldus, and, connected with what Solinus and others after him had said concerning there having been no bees in Ireland, induced some Irish writers of the 9th and 10th centuries to attribute the introduction of them to St. Domnoch. That there were bees in this country long before his time appears from the Rule of St. Ailbe of Emly, in which it is ordered, (*Num.* 37.) that a portion of honeycomb should be allowed the monks at their meals. (*AA. SS.* p. 328.) St. Patrick in his Confession makes mention of wild honey, apparently as a substance well known in Ireland.

(72) *AA. SS.* p. 926.

(73) This mountain hangs over the sea, and was anciently called Slieve Slainge from a hero of that name. Two churches, dedicated in the name of St. Domgard, existed there as late as Colgan's time, one at the foot of it in a place formerly called *Rath-murbhuilg*, afterwards *Machaire-ratha*; and the other on the top of the mountain, which was much frequented by pilgrims. (See *Acts of Domangard* at 24 *Mart.*) Giraldus Cambrensis, calling Domangard *Dominick*, thus writes; (*Topogr. Dist.* 3. c. 2.) "Mons altissimus, qui illi imminet mari, quod Hiberniam interfluit atque Britanniam, *Salanga* nominatur; cujus ad radices quia longis post temporibus S. Dominicus nobile monasterium construxerat, mons S. Dominici jam usitatius nomen habet." Usher, thinking that this S. Dominick was the same as Dominick of Ossory mentioned elsewhere by Giraldus, (See *Not.* 70) and not being acquainted with the history of St. Domangard, fell into a huge mistake (*p.* 954.) with regard to the situation of mount Slainge or Salanga, making it the same as the *sacred promontory* of Ptolemy, now *Grenore point* in the county of Wexford. The addition of *Ossoriensis* by Giraldus to the name of one of those Dominicks, as he called them, shows that he did not confound them together. Usher has led astray, or, at least puzzled Ware (*Ant. cap.* 10. *al.* 6. at *Hieron*) on this point. Archdall (at *Carnsore*) follows Usher implicitly, and makes the matter worse in various ways. He has St. Domangart of *Ossory*; while the saint of Ossory was Domnoch, whom Usher, following Giraldus, calls *Dominick*. Then, instead of Grenore, meant by Usher, and, as Ware has it, he places, with Harris, the *sacred promontory* at

Carnsore, and, what was never before heard of, brings, of himself, Slieve Domangard to Carnsore point, as if it were not known to be the same as Slieve Donard, which he himself has, (at *Co. Down*) where he says, that St. Domangard there founded a monastery. This slovenly bungling has been followed in part by Seward (*Topography, &c. at Carnsore point*) who, however, is correct on this subject at *Sliebh-Donard*.

(74) Domangart is said to have been son of Euchodius, who was king of Ulster in the latter end of the 5th century, and during part of the sixth. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (*L. 3. c. 63. seqq.*) he is represented as a tyrant and persecutor of the Christians. The birth of Domangart is placed a short time before the foundation of Armagh, and it is added that he afterwards became a disciple of our apostle. Now we have seen that St. Patrick did not survive the foundation of Armagh more than about ten years. How then could Domangart have been a disciple of his? Then we are given to understand, that Domangart was not born until after his father's death, which the 4 Masters assign to A. D. 503 (504). (See *AA. SS. p. 743.*) This sets aside the whole story; for St. Patrick was dead many years before this date. Jocelin, who (*cap. 130.*) follows the Tripartite as to Euchodius, Domangart, &c. omits what is said of the latter having been a disciple of St. Patrick. There is a fable concerning Domangart having been raised from the dead at Rome by St. Patrick, according to which he should have lived in the beginning of the 5th century. Such contradictory stories show, what little reliance can be placed on the accounts given of this saint.

(75) In some genealogical documents Domangart is stated to have been a maternal brother of St. Mura of Fahan, who lived at the earliest in the 7th century. Colgan not only allows it but maintains it; and yet he would have us believe, that Domangart was in the times of St. Patrick.

(76) This title is given to him in the *Martyrol. Tamlaet.* and in a prayer, in which occurs the fable of his having been again brought to life by St. Patrick. It does not appear in some calendars, which mention his name, nor in the Tripartite or Joceline. There is reason to suspect, that he was no more than a hermit, who led a solitary life on the top of Slieve Donard, and that the mo-

nastery at its base was erected not by him but by others in commemoration of his memory.

(77) See *Not. 73*. Archdall, who treats of Domangart in two places (*Slieve Donard* and *Carnsore*) assigns in both of them his festival to the 4th of March, and refers to Colgan, who, on the contrary, has, all through, the 24th, at which day his Acts are given. As to the time of his death, the Tripartite and Joceline (*loc. cit. Not. 74.*) inform us, that nothing was known about it. Hence it is clear, that there is no foundation for what some have said of his having died in 506.

§. VI. St. Scutin or Scothin belonged to this period, if, as is generally supposed, he also had been at the school of St. David in Wales. He was of an illustrious family, and is said to have been related to St. Ailbe of Emly. (78) On his return to Ireland he constructed a cell for himself near Sliebh Mairge, or mount Mairge, in the now barony of Slewmargy, Queen's county. This cell, which seems to have been a solitary habitation, (79) has been called *Teach Scothin*, and a church was erected there probably by himself. After a very edifying life spent in the practice of great austerities, he died on a 2d of January; but in what year is not known. In these times was also St. Berach (80) abbot of Cluain-Cairpthe in the now county of Roscommon. His father was Nemnald a descendant of Brian, formerly prince of Connaught and brother to Neill Neigiliach, (81) his mother was Finmaith, sister of a celebrated priest called Froech. (82) Berach was born at a place called *Gortnahuachra*, belonging to Froech, near Cluan in the territory of Conmacnie, (83) and, when only seven years old, was sent to the school of St. Dagaueus of Iniscain in the now county of Louth. (84) Having there distinguished himself by his piety and learning he removed to Glendaloch, where he placed himself under the direction of St. Coemgen, and embraced the monastic state. (85) It has been thought, that he spent some time

with Columbkil in Hy. (86) Be this as it may, Berach formed an establishment for himself at Cluain-cairpthe in the desert of Kinel-dobhtha. (87) As to a cell attributed to him at a place called *Disert Beraigh* (Berach's desert) *alias Dubberaith* in Bregia, (E Meath) it is useless to inquire. The year of his death is unknown; (88) but the day of it was a 15th of February. (89) Some other holy men are mentioned by certain writers as having flourished in the latter half of the sixth century; but either the authority for their having belonged to this period is so defective, or their transactions so obscure, that I shall not trouble the reader or myself with endeavouring to unravel their history. (90) We shall meet with others, who began their career in these times; but, as they were distinguished principally in the seventh century, their history must be deferred for a while.

(78) According to some accounts Scutin and Ailbe were first cousins. This is a palpable anachronism, whereas Ailbe died very old long before Scutin could have gone to the school of St. David. Yet Colgan, with his usual composure, has swallowed it, at Jan. 2. where he has what he calls the *Acts of St. Scutin*.

(79) It does not appear that Schotin collected a religious community.

(80) Colgan has published (at 15 Feb.) two lives of this saint. The first is from a MS. of the Island of all saints in Loughree, and was most probably written by Magraidin. It abounds in fables. The second is from an Irish MS. and, though short, is fabulous enough.

(81) *AA. SS. p. 346.*

(82) Cruinther Froech, *al. Fraech*, that is, *priest Froech*, founded a monastery, once very famous at Cluan in the district of Muintir-eoluis in the now county of Leitrim (*AA. SS. ib.*) The place is now called Cloon in the barony of Mohill. He lived in the 6th century and died on a 20th of December, the day on which his memory was revered at Cloon.

(83) *Second Life, cap. 2.* It cannot be doubted, that the

Cluan here mentioned was the same as that of the preceding Note. The author's placing it in Connmacnie does not contradict what Colgan says of Muinter-eoluis. For Connmacnie was a territory that comprized several districts; (See *Not.* 135 to *Chap.* x.) and one of the Connmacnies was in Leitrim. (Harris, *Ant.* cap. 7.)

(84) See *Chap.* x. § 14.

(85) First Life, cap. 6.

(86) Adamnan (*L.* 1. c. 19.) makes mention of a monk, Berachus, as sailing from Hy to the island of Ethica, after having received St. Columba's benediction. Colgan (*not. ad loc.*) thinks it very probable that he was the Berach that we are now treating of. I is, however, to be observed, that in neither of his Lives does any^t thing occur, not even the names of St. Columba, to indicate that he was at any time a member of the community of Hy.

(87) Archdall calls Cluain-cairpthe *Clooncraft*, and places it in the barony of Athlone. This is a mistake; for Dr. Beaufort, a very good authority on those subjects (*Memoir of a Map of Ireland*), (*Topogr. &c.*) has it, under the name of *Cloncraft*, in that of Roscommon. Archdall says, or seems to say, that this monastery had been founded by St. Patrick, for which he refers to King (MS.) in whose papers I have not been able to find it. Then he adds that the founder died in 580 or 600. Did he mean St. Patrick! Yet, to do him justice, I believe that *Patrick* is an erratum for *Berach*. He ought, however, to have given us a table of *errata*.

(88) Archdall says, that the founder of Cluain-cairpthe, meaning Berach, died in 580 or 600, and refers to Colgan, who has no such thing. All that Colgan states, and that in *Ind. Chron.* to *AA. SS.* is, that Berach *flourished* in 580. As to A. 600, he is silent, and, on the contrary, expressly says (*ib.* p. 347.) that the year of Berach's death is uncertain.

(89) Berach's name is marked also at this day in some foreign calendars, and with the title *bishop*. This is a mistake; for neither in his Lives, nor in the Irish calendars, does he appear as more than an abbot.

(90) For instance, Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 253.) makes mention of an abbot Modan of Kilmodan in the now county of Longford, who is also called bishop of a place in that vicinity called *Carnfurbhuidhe*. This is all that he could, with any degree of certainty, say about him. He adds, that Modan flourished in 561, on the authority

of an Irish Life of Columbkille, in which he had read, that this saint was in Modan's monastery at the time of the battle of Culdremne, which is known to have been fought in that year. O'Donnell (*Life of Columba*, L. 2. c. 6.) tells us, that the saint, when on his way to set out for Hy, and accordingly two years after the battle, stopped on the approach of night, at Kill-mudain (al. Kilmodan) and was very badly received by one Mudan, who treated him with great contempt. He does not say, that Mudan was an abbot; but, if he was, he is exhibited as, at least at that time, an unworthy one. Some other stories are added, such as that Mudan's habitation, or part of it, was on the next day consumed by fire, and that Kill-mudain was to become a receptacle of wild beasts. On the whole it is clear, that we have no sufficient authority for Modan's having been contemporary with Columbkille, or having lived in the sixth century. It is probable that, as Kilmodan at some time or other became a waste, one of our poets took it into his head to attribute its destruction to the wrath of Columbkille. Archdall has changed the name of *Kilmodan* into *Moydoe*, and, in his usual incorrect manner, instead of Colgan's A. 561, has A. 591. Then he says that Erclac, a disciple of St. Patrick, was a presbyter of Kilmodan. Had he looked more attentively into the *Tr. Th.* he would have found that the place, called (p. 267) Kilmudain or Kilmodan, was not the one now under discussion, but quite distinct from it, and more properly called *Rath-mudain*, situated in the diocese of Connor, where Erclac is said to have presided over a church. (See *ib.* p. 182. *Not.* 197.)

§. VII. Nor was the period, now treated of, deficient in female saints. The holy virgin St. Fáila, *alias* Foila or Foilenna, whose memory was revered at Kill-faile in the diocese of Kilmacduach, was of the illustrious house of the Hy-fiachra of Connaught, (91) and daughter of Aidus, or Hugh, a great grandson of Dathy, once king of Ireland. (92) Three brothers of hers (93) are reckoned among the Irish saints. St. Fáila's reputation was very great, as appears from the church of Kill-faile, called from her name, having been for centuries resorted to by multitudes of pilgrims. It is not known in what year

she died ; but her festival was kept on the 3d of March. A St. Sincha died in 597. (94) Three sisters of St. Molaisse of Devenish, Osnata, Muadh-nata, and Talulla, are mentioned in the calendars at 6 January. (95) Osnata is called the virgin of Gleann-Dallain, a place either in Breffny or Carbury. (96) Muadhnata was revered at Caille likewise in Carbury ; and Talulla at Kildare, where she was abbess about, it is said, the year 590. (97) A joint festival of these three holy sisters was kept at Enach-ard, (98) probably the place now called Annagh in the county of Leitrim and barony of Drumahare. (99) St. Libhan, or Libana, whose name occurs at 18 December, was celebrated in Ulster. She was of princely extraction, and had as her director St. Comgall of Bangor. (100) St. Schiria, from whom the church of Killskire or Killkire in Meath (barony of Kells) has got its name, and a sister of hers, Corcaria Caoin, are said to have belonged to these times. (101) Schiria was venerated at Killskire on the 24th of March, while Corcaria's name is not to be met with in the calendars. (102) The holy virgins, daughters of Aidus, king of Leinster, and grand-daughters of king Corpreus, (103) who died in 547, lived also in these times. They are called by some writers, Ethnea, Sodelbia, and Cumania. Others make mention of only the two former, and calling them the daughters of Baithe, whose memory was revered in a church, near Swords, named *of the cell of the daughters of Baithe*. Yet by whatever names the daughters of Aidus were known, it is certain that they were distinguished by their piety and lived in a nunnery. (104) Some other holy nuns are spoken of, such as a St. Derbilía of Irras, the seven daughters of Fergus, who were revered on the 24th of May at Teagh-na-ninghean, somewhere in Con-naught, St. Inella or perhaps, Derinella, &c. (105) But whether they lived during this period or at another

cannot be ascertained; nor do I find any account whatsoever of their transactions.

(91) One branch of this family resided in the part of North Connaught, called Tir-fiachra, now Tyr-eragh, co. Sligo; and another, to which St. Faila belonged, in South Connaught. They were called Hy-fiachra from their progenitor Fiachra a brother of Neill Neigilllach.

(92) Dathy was the immediate predecessor of Leogaire. (*Not.* 42. to *Chap.* v.) Colgan in one place, (*AA. SS.* p. 456) tracing the genealogy of Aidus, the father of Faila, seems to exhibit him as grandson to Dathy, owing to an omission, in the printed text, of another Aidus, who was his father. For elsewhere (*ib.* p. 381.) the genealogy runs thus; *Aidus son of another Aidus, the son of Lugad, the son of Dathy, the son of Fiachra.*

(93) Their names are Colgeus, or Colga, Aidus, and Sorar. (*AA. SS.* p. 381. and 456.) Colgeus is mentioned by Adamnan, (*L.* 1. c. 17.) who calls him *Colgius the son of Aidus Draigniche of the race of Fiechrach*. He governed a church, and perhaps a monastery, at Kilcolgan, called from his name, in the diocese of Kilmacduach, and barony of Doolkillen in the co. of Galway. Colgan treats of him at 20 *Feb.* He must not be confounded with Colgu or Colgeus, his contemporary, and also a disciple of Columbkille in Hy, of whom Colgan gives some account at the same day. This Colgu, *al. Colgius*, is called by Adamnan (*L.* 2. c. 7. and *L.* 3. c. 15.) The son of Cellach; and it seems that he became a bishop; for Adamnan (*L.* 1. c. 34.) introduces Columbkille as speaking to him about his diocese. Yet he is not there styled *bishop*, and perhaps the phrase, *your diocese*, may mean no more than the diocese in Ireland, to which Colgeus belonged without his being bishop of it. Colgan (*ib.*) conjectures that his church was perhaps at Kilcolgan in the O'Coghlan's country, King's county; and yet he lays down, (*Tr. Th.* p. 495.) that it was Kiloolgan in the diocese of Clonfert, county of Galway. Archdall, to patch up the matter, makes Colgeus, or, as he calls him, Colgan, abbot in both these places, as if there had not been Colgas, Colgus, or Colgeus enough in Ireland to govern churches without allowing more than one to each of them. As to Aidus and Sorar the other

brothers of St. Faila, I can find nothing further. Colgan, indeed, most strangely says, (*AA. SS. p. 456.*) that Adamnan makes mention of Aidus (*L. 1. c. 16.*) as likewise a disciple of St. Columba. There is no such thing in that chapter nor any where in the whole work. Adamnan has an Aidus in the title to *cap. 17.* of said book, but he was Aidus Draignich the father of this Aidus; and he has nothing more about him than the words above quoted, where he marks Colgius as a son of his. In the list of Columba's disciples Colgan has no Aidus, brother of Colgius, or son of another Aidus.

(94) *Annals of Innisfallen.* Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 623.*) tells us, that there were seven holy virgins of the name of *Sincha*, and observes that there was a church in Meath called *Teagh-Sinche*, or the house of Sincha. He conjectures, that it was the same as Kill-ailbe, in E. Meath, where St. Abban is said to have established a nunnery, and to have placed over it a virgin Segnich. Harris following this loose and probably groundless conjecture, has confounded those places into one.

(95) *AA. SS. p. 839.* Osnata and Muadhnata have been already mentioned, *Not. 126. to Chap. xii.*

(96) In the *AA. SS. p. 337.* Gleandallain is placed in Car-bria, *i. e.* the Carbury of co. Sligo, and at *p. 339.* in Breffny, alluding, I suppose, to the part of it now called Leitrim. Which of the readings be the correct one is of little importance, as those territories were contiguous to each other.

(97) *Tr. Th. p. 629.* Archdall (at *Kildare*) has changed 590 into 580, and the name *Talulla*, which Colgan constantly has, into *Falulla*.

(98) *AA. SS. p. 340.*

(99) *Enach*, which, with one addition or another, was the name of several places in Ireland, is now usually spelled *Annagh*. As these students, as well as their brother Molaise, were most probably natives of Leitrim (See *Not. 126 to Chap. xii.*) and of the part bordering on Carbury in Sligo, it is natural to suppose that the Enach or Annagh, in which their memory was revered, was rather this one than any of the other places of said names. Archdall (at *Enachaird*) thinks it might have been in Carbury; but there is no Annagh in that barony. He mentions the veneration there paid to the three sisters, and instead of *Osnata*, calls

one of them *Otnata*, as if to distinguish her from *Osnata*, whom he speaks of in the immediately following article at *Gleann-dallain*. Wishing to swell his *Monasticon* with the addition of *Emachaird*, he writes in such a manner as to make the reader think, that the three sisters, whom he there speaks of, were different from those, of whom we have now treated.

(100) *AA. SS.* p. 339.

(101) *Ib.* They were the daughters of an Eugene, who was great grandson to Fergus a brother of Neill Negiallach. This line of generations agrees very well with their having been distinguished in the latter part of the sixth century. Another sister of theirs *Corcaria Keann* is spoken of. Colgan could find no account of her; and it is more than probable, that she was the same as *Corcaria Caoin*.

(102) Colgan justly observes that one of the two *Corcagias*, whose names occur, was perhaps the same as *Corcaria*. A mistake might easily have happened by changing *r* into *g*.

(103) See *AA. SS.* p. 212.

(104) This is clear from the Acts of St. Maidoc of Ferns. But the history of *Ethnea*, &c. and whether such were the names of the holy daughters of king Aidus, or how many were these daughters, is so involved in the obscurity of jarring documents, that I shall do no more than refer to Colgan, who treats of them at 29 March.

(105) See *AA. SS.* p. 339 and 340.

§. VIII. We may now proceed to third class of saints, of whom we read, as follows, in the ancient document (106) often alluded to. "The third order of saints was of this description. It consisted of holy priests and a few bishops, all 100 in number, who dwelt in deserts and lived on herbs, water, and alms. They shunned possessing private property, (107) and had divers rules and masses; (108) and divers tonsures, some having the *corona* and others their hair. (109) They differed also as to the Paschal solemnity; for some of them celebrated the feast of the Resurrection from the 14th of the moon, and others from the 16th. (110) They

“lived during the reigns of four dynasties, viz. of
 “Aeda Allain, who reigned only three years, Dom-
 “nail, the sons of Mailcob, and the sons of Aeda
 “Slaine, (111) and continued until the great mor-
 “tality. (112) Their names are, bishops Petran,
 “Ultan, Colman, Murgeus, Aedan, Loman, and
 “Senach, besides several other bishops. The fol-
 “lowing were priests; Fechin, Airendan, Failan,
 “Coman, Commian, Colman, Ernan, Cronan, and
 “very many other priests.” The author then con-
 cludes with these words; “The first order (or class)
 most holy; the second very holy; the third holy.
 The first blazes like the sun, the second like the
 moon, and the third like the stars.” (113) As the
 persons, whose names are here given, are not placed
 in chronological order, it would cause great confusion
 to treat of them in succession. It will be also neces-
 sary to now and then interrupt the peculiar history
 of these saints, so as to make room for an account of
 other eminent persons or some important transactions
 belonging to the times, in which they flourished.

(106) See Usher, p. 914.

(107) *Propria devitabant, al. omnia terrena contemnebant, &c.*

(108) Compare with Not. 53 to Chap. x.

(109) This diversity of tonsures will be explained hereafter.

(110) On this subject more in its proper place.

(111) The author's *quaterna regna*; (a number and phrase, which he has also when treating of the other classes) I translate *four dynasties*, we have seen (above §. 1.); during the time he speaks of there was a succession of more than four reigns. Yet they may be reduced to four dynasties; a subject, which I leave to our antiquaries, at the same time observing, that, in allowing only 3 years to the reign of Aeda Allain, or, as others call him, *Huairiodnach*, the author differs from our Annalists. I must also remark, that, although he mentions the reign of the sons of Aeda Slaine, or Aidus Slani, he has leaped over that of Aeda Slaine himself, who was the immediate successor of Aeda son of Ainmerech, the king, with whose reign he had closed the period of

the second class. (See *Chap. x. §. 4.*) As he joins the commencement of the third one with the reign of Aeda Allain, it follows, in the supposition that O'Flaherty's chronology be correct, that the era, in which this class flourished, must be reckoned from A. D. 605. (above §. 1.)

(112) Ledwich in his sort of explanation of this document says, (*Ant. &c. p. 420*) that the third class continued from 598 to 658. As to 598 or rather 599 (*Chap. xi. §. 5.*) he would have hit the author's meaning, if the commencement of the class were affixed to the reign of Aidus Slani; but we have just seen, that he has placed it in that of Aidus Allain the successor of Slani. And as to 658, the Doctor did not reflect, that the close of the third class is placed not at the beginning but at the termination of the last reign alluded to, viz. that of Diernit II. and Blathmac, who began indeed to reign in 658, but died in 665 the year of the great mortality. (Above §. 1.)

(113) The Doctor, who is a great connoisseur in matters of piety and sanctity, attributes the inferiority of the second class, compared with the first, to corruptions, that began to appear in the church. Why not name some of them? Might not some men be more holy than others, without the church being infected? As to the third class, it appeared, he says, "when religion became clouded with superstition and human invention." How does he exemplify this assertion? Yet he finds some consolation in there being no direct acknowledgment of Rome or her doctrines. As this is not a place for controversy, I will merely tell him that the author of the document had no intention whatsoever of alluding to the doctrines of the Church, or to any corruption of them. He touches indeed on practices, but does not complain of any of them as bad. His object was to give a comparative view of the state of the Irish church at divers periods, and of the various degrees of Christian fervour, with which the clergy were in general animated. I say *in general*, because even in the third class there were individuals as religious and as holy as many of those of the higher ones. That no innovations as to doctrinal matters had taken place at the time the third class appeared, our self-sufficient Doctor might have learned from St. Columbanus, an excellent judge on these points, and who survived the appearance of said class. He might also have been instructed by that great man

concerning the light in which Rome and her doctrines were held in Ireland. (See *Chap. XIII. §. 12.*)

§. IX. The first in the list, and certainly one of the oldest, is Petranus bishop of Lusk, (114) concerning whom I find nothing recorded, except that he died in 616. (115) If Senach, whose name occurs last among the bishops, was Senach of Armagh, (116) he should had the order of time, whereas he died in 610, and dignity of rank been attended to, have been the first named. But it is more probable, that he was Senach Garbh of Clonfert, who, although usually called only abbot. was in all probability a bishop, and who died in 621. (117) Aedan was the celebrated St. Aidan or Maidoc bishop of Ferns. His original name was *Aodh* or *Aedh*, a name exceedingly common among the ancient Irish, which, besides, being modified in various ways, both in Irish and Latin, (118) has been anglicized into *Hugh*. As this saint's name appears more generally under the form *Maidoc*, I shall use it in preference to *Aedan* or *Aidan*, by which some distinguished persons, with whom he must not be confounded, (119) are usually designated. He was of an illustrious family of Con-naught. His father Setna was of the Hy-briiun sept, (120) and his mother Ethne of the race of Aulai. (121) Having been married for some considerable time they had no heir, and accordingly prayed to God that he might grant them a son, for which purpose they also gave great alms and often went to the monastery of Druim-leathan, (122) where they used to request the prayers of the holy men, who resided there. The Almighty being pleased to listen to their supplications, St. Maidoc was born in a small island called *Inis-Breagh-muigh* in the now county of Cavan. (123) The time of his birth was about the year 560, as appears from his having been, when a small boy, one of the hostages, whom the chiefs of Hy-briuin were compelled to give to Ammiracus king

of Ireland, (124) whose reign began in 568, and ended in 571. (125) When returned to his parents they consigned him for his education to some holy men, under whose care, besides attending to the studies suitable to his age, he became a great proficient in piety. After some time, and while Maidoc was still young, his reputation for sanctity became so great, that several well disposed persons wished to connect themselves with him, and to consider him as their master. His humility would not allow him to accept of this distinction; and to avoid it he left his own country and proceeded to St. David's establishment at Menevia in Wales. (126)

(114) One Macculind, and Cuynen M'Cathmoa, are spoken of as having been bishops at Lusk as early as the latter end of the 5th century; (See Archdall at *Lusk*) but on no respectable authority, that I can discover. Colgan makes no mention of them.

(115) Usher, p. 963 and *Ind. Chron.* He seemed to think, that Petranus might have been the same as the Armorican nobleman of that name, who has been mentioned *Chap. ix. §. 12.* But he afterwards changed his opinion, having directed (*Addenda, p. 1196*) the reader to affix the arrival of Petranus in Ireland to A. D. 498. Accordingly he must have been different from the bishop, who died in 616. Add, that Paternus, son of the Armorican Petranus, was bishop of Vannes about 640. (Usher *Ind. Chron.*)

(116) See above, §. 2. Usher, not troubling himself about other Senachs, laid down (p. 966) as certain, that Senach of Armagh was he of the list. Yet we find nothing particular as to the sanctity of this Senach; nor is there any day marked for his commemoration; a strange omission with regard to an Archbishop of Armagh.

(117) As much as is known concerning Senach Garbh has been already given. (Above, §. 2. and *Not. 22.*) His dying in 621 answers better to his being placed in the third class than to Senach of Armagh, who died in 610. That Senach-Garbh was really a bishop there is every reason to believe, as there seems to

have been a regular succession of bishops at Clonfert. Prior to him we there find Fintan Corach and Moena.

(118) It is curious to observe, into what various shapes the name Aodh has been transformed. As the Irish used to write *OE* or *AE* for *AO*, we find this saint in some Calendars under the form *Oedus* and *Aedus*. Among the Irish diminutive particles were *an*, and *oc* or *og*. Hence, as it was very usual to add one of these particles to the names, particularly of persons beloved, as ex. c. we say *Johnny* for *John*, he is called in various Irish documents, *Aodan*, *Aedan*, *Oedan*, *Aodhog*. Next comes the endearing prefix *Mo*, omitting, however, the *o* in case of the name beginning with a vowel; and thus he appears as *Maodog*, *Moedhog*, *Moedoc*, *Maedoc*, *Maidoc*. Giraldus Cambrensis says, (*Vit. S. David*.) "S. Aidanus, qui et Hibernice *Maidocus* dicitur. In Capgrave's Legend it is remarked that, instead of *Aidus* or *Aidan*, as named in some works, he was called at St. David's *Moedoc*, "which is Irish."

(119) Some, among whom Hanmer (*Chron. p. 127. New ed.*) thought he was the same as St. Aidan bishop of Lindisfarne, of whom hereafter.

(120) This sept was descended from the Brian, once prince of Connaught, mentioned above, §. 6. Their territory was either Breifny (now Leitrim and Cavan) or, at least, a part of it. See *AA. SS. p. 216.*

(121) Life of Maidoc, *cap. 1.* Colgan says that, instead of *Aulai*, the author should have written *Amalgaid*, the name of a prince, whose sons are much spoken of in the history of St. Patrick. Yet I find no real difference between the names, as the former is only a contraction of the latter. Thus the territory, anciently called, from that prince, *Tir-amalgaid*, has, for a long time back, been called *Tir-awly*. This Life, which Colgan (at 31 *Jan.*) has published in preference to some others, is of rather a respectable kind. The style indeed, is often incorrect; and Colgan complains that there is now and then neglect of chronological order. Yet, on the whole, it is a useful document. A St. Evin is said to have been the author. Colgan admits that he was not Evin of Ross, whereas he died before Maidoc. Whatever was the author's name, he gives us to understand, (*cap. 63-64.*) that

he was a clergyman or monk of Ferns, or, at least, of some church, of which St. Maidoc was patron:

(122) It is now called *Drumlahan* or Drumlane. Archdall places it in the barony of Belturbet, co. Cavan. I do not know of any such barony. Drumlahan is a well known place, in the barony of Loughree, about three miles from Belturbet. It is very strange, that Colgan, in a list of monasteries founded by Maidoc, has among them *Druim-lethan*, which, as appears from what we have now seen, existed before he was born. Ware and Harris were, at least in part, led astray by him on this point.

(123) Colgan says, that this island is in a lake or marsh in a district of Breffny called *Tellach-ethach*. This is, as well as I can discover, the now barony of Tullaghagh or Tullahaw in the part of Cavan that borders on Leitrim. That district, together with some others of Cavan, was formerly comprized in Connaught.

(124) Maidoc's Life, *cap.* 2.

(125) See *Chap.* XII. §. 5. Harris (*Bishop at Ferns*) says that the account of Maidoc having been a hostage with Anmiracus cannot square with the truth of chronology, because he was a disciple of St. David, who, says Harris, died in 544, and consequently many years before the reign of that king. But what Harris, following Usher, thought to be true chronology, is quite the reverse, as has been already proved. (*Chap.* IX. §. 9.) As to the evasion of Usher and others, that there may be some mistake in the name of Anmiracus, and that the king, with whom Maidoc was a hostage, might have been one prior to him, it is not worth consideration. Independently of any mention of this circumstance or of Anmiracus, it is plain from the fact, universally admitted, of Maidoc having been a scholar of St. David, that the latter did not die as early as 544. From the Lives of both these saints it is evident, that Maidoc must have been, at least, 24 years old at the time of David's death. Thus then, in the hypothesis of it having occurred in 544, Maidoc's birth cannot be placed later than 520; and, allowing him to have been born in this very year, he should have lived to the age of 112, whereas, according to Usher himself, (*p.* 966.) he died in 632. Now in whatever accounts exist of St. Maidoc there is not the least indi-

cation of his life having been prolonged to any extraordinary length of time.

(126) *Life*, cap. 10. Menevia is there called, as usual with the old Irish writers, *Killmuine*.

§. x. Maidoc remained a long time in that place, and was greatly esteemed by St. David on account of his humility and strict observance of monastic discipline, of which some instances are related, as likewise of the interposition of Providence in his favour. (127) He is said to have wrought some miracles in Wales, and his reputation was so great, that, on an occasion of the English having invaded that country with a great army, the inhabitants, when assembled in arms to defend themselves, requested of St. David to send Maidoc to them, that he might bless them and their efforts. It is added, that his benediction had the wished for effect, and that the English were routed with considerable loss. (128) At what time he returned to Ireland is not exactly known; but it was prior to St. David's death, which was probably in 589 (129) He parted from St. David and his other friends at Menevia with their best wishes and blessings, (130) and having landed somewhere in the now county of Wexford, was well received by some of the leading men of that country, particularly by one named Dymma, who gave him some ground, on which he erected a church. (131) He afterwards formed a cell or small monastery at Disert Nairbre, a place supposed to be in the now county of Waterford. (132) There he remained for a time, apparently not long, and then set about establishing monasteries in various parts of Hy-Kin-selagh, particularly, and one may say *solely*, in that now called Wexford. One of them was the celebrated monastery of Clonemore, (133) over which he placed Dicholla Gairbh one of his disciples. But his chief establishment was that of Ferns, on land granted to him by king Brandubh, after, from

having been prince of Hy-Kinmelagh, he became sovereign of all Leinster, and had defeated Aidus king of Ireland in the early part of the year 599. (134) Brandubh had an extraordinary esteem for St. Maidoc, and exerted all his influence to raise the monastery and new town of Ferns to the rank not only of an episcopal see, but likewise of an ecclesiastical metropolis. Accordingly he procured the convocation of a numerous synod, in which it was decreed, with the concurrent voice of the king, clergy, and people, that the archbishoprick of Leinster should be annexed to Ferns as the see and chair of Maidoc, who was then immediately consecrated bishop. (135) This transaction must be placed either in 599, or some time before the death of Brandubh in 602, (136) and hence it appears that what is said of Maidoc having paid a visit to St. David, who wished to see him before his death, occurred, if true, before he became a bishop. (137) We find him, after his consecration, visiting the holy virgins daughters of Aidus, king of Leinster, and taking with him a plough and a pair of oxen as a present for them. (138) His ecclesiastical dignity did not prevent him from joining his monks in their agricultural labours; and we are told that on one occasion he superintended 150 brethren making the harvest. (139) He was intimate with several distinguished holy men of his time, particularly Molua of Clonfert-molua, who was his spiritual director, or father confessor, (140) Fintan Munnu, and others. Maidoc was remarkable for his hospitality and benevolence. On being informed that some relatives of his were prisoners in Hy Conall Gabhra, (141) he went to that country, although far distant from Ferns, for the purpose of delivering them, and did not desist, until he induced the chieftain, otherwise very harsh on this point, to give them up. It is added, that this chieftain was so affected by the

saint's conduct, that he granted him a place called Cluain-claidheach, in which he erected a monastery. (142) Another time, when thinking of going to Cashel on some business, he changed his course and travelled as far as Kilmacduagh to relieve Guaire, king of Connaught, who was dangerously ill, and who recovered his health through the saint's prayers. (143) Several miracles are attributed to Maidoc; but this is not the place for giving an account of them. This much is certain, that his reputation for sanctity was very great, and that his memory has been highly revered, both in Ireland and in some other countries, particularly Wales. He died on the 31st of January, A. D. 632, (144) and was buried at Ferns.

(127) *Life*, cap. 11. *seqq.* See also *Life of David*, cap. 16. at I *Mart.*

(128) *Life*, cap. 17. (129) See *Chap. ix. §. 9.*

(130) In the *Life of David* by Giraldus, we read; "S. Aidanus, qui et Hibernice Maidocus dicitur, virtutibus insignis et divinis affatim eruditus disciplinis, licentia primum a patre (David) deinde fratribus accepta, cum omnium benedictione Hiberniam petiit."

(131) In his *Life* (cap. 19.) he is said to have erected also a church on a field granted to him by a chieftain, whose name is not mentioned. Colgan thought that the place given to Maidoc by Dymma was Ardlathrann together with some ground adjoining, and hence Archdall has a monastery there. Ardlathrann, which was a maritime town, seemingly in the Southern part of the county of Wexford, is mentioned more than once in the *Life*, as a place where Maidoc happened to be on some occasions; and it is very probable, that he had there formed a religious establishment. But we are not to believe that he got a grant of the whole town.

(132) Maidoc is said (*ib. cap. 21.*) to have visited the country of the Desii (co. Waterford); and next after we are told that he erected the cell of Disert Nairbre. But it is not stated, that this cell was in that country. Yet from the context it appears probable that it was; and Colgan (*Not. at loc.*) places it there in the

diocese of Ardmore. Smith (*Hist. of Waterford*, p. 92.) makes it the same as Bolhendesart in the barony of Upperthird not far from the river Suir.

(133) In the barony of Bantry, co. Wexford. (See Archdall). N. B. The monastery of Fiddown in the county of Kilkenny was founded by another Maidoc, of whom Colgan has a very confused and doubtful account at 23 *Mart.*

(134) See *Chap.* XII. §. 5.

(135) The Life has; (*cap.* 28.) “Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lageniensium decrevit rex Brandubh, et tam laici quam clerici, ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lageniensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc S. Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus.” Usher observes (*p.* 965) that by this regulation the archiepiscopate was removed from Sletty. (Compare with *Chap.* VI. §. 5. and *ib.* *Not.* 53.) He adds that it was afterwards transferred to Kildare, where, he says, we find it in the time of bishop Ferdomnach, who died in the year 1101. But that privilege, such as it was, appears to have been annexed to Kildare long before this time; for Cogitosus, who did not live later than the early part of the ninth century, (See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII.) in his prologue calls the bishop of Kildare an *archbishop*. I have already remarked (*Not.* 67 to *Chap.* VI.) that these so called archbishops of those times in Ireland, excepting the primate of Armagh, were not, strictly speaking, metropolitans invested with such jurisdiction as the canon law has established. They enjoyed, by courtesy, a sort of honorary pre-eminence, which, as may be concluded from the title passing from one see to another, was, I dare say, often contested. It is true, that also in the African provinces the title of *primate* as the head bishop of each was called, used to pass through various sees; but there was a fixed rule as to this point; viz. that, with the exception of the bishop or primate of Carthage, to whom all the other primates, bishops, &c. were subject; those African primates were always the oldest bishops, by consecration, of the respective provinces. Now in Ireland we cannot discover any such settled regulation; and I am inclined to think, that some of those provincial archbishops owed their title and rank rather to the favour of princes than to ecclesiastical constitutions.

(136) Above, *Not.* 49.

(137) We have seen (*Chap. ix. §. 9.*) that St. David died some years previous to 599.

(138) *Life, cap. 34.* Of these holy virgins mention has been made above §. 7.

(139) *Ib. cap. 40.*

(140) *Ib. cap. 20 and 54.*

(141) Now Upper Connello in the county of Limerick. (See *Not. 6 to Chap. xi*)

(142) *Life, cap. 38.* Archdall says, that this place is not far from Rathkeale and now called Cluancagh.

(143) *Ib. cap. 41.*

(144) *Usher, p. 966.* Ware, *Bishops at Ferns, &c.* The 4 Masters (*ap. AA. SS. p. 219*) have A. 624 (625). The date 632 is more probably the true one, as appears from what Colgan (*ib.*) observes concerning that assigned by the 4 Masters to the death of Guaire king of Connaught, which, he says, cannot be reconciled with their placing Maidoc's death in 624. For Guaire is stated to have lived 90 years after he had been visited by the saint. It would lead me too far to enter into a discussion on this subject. This much I will say, that these Annalists are wrong either in their date for the death of Maidoc, or in their affixing that of Guaire to A. 662. Ware observes, that a writer of Maidoc's *Life* gives him about 50 years of episcopacy. This does not occur in that published by Colgan, and is contrary to the well known fact, that he did not become a bishop until, at the earliest, A. 599.

§. XI. Contemporary with Maidoc was St. Colman of Kilmacduach, who, according to every appearance, was the bishop Colman of the third class.

(145) He was of the illustrious house of the southern Hua-Fiachra of Connaught, (146) and was nearly related to Guaire, king of that province.

(147) From his father's name, *Duach*, he was surnamed *Macduach*, by which appellation he is more generally spoken of than by that of *Colman*. The earliest account I find of his transactions is, that he lived as a hermit in the forest of Burren (county of Clare), attended only by a young clerk, a disciple of his. Their only food was water cresses and wild herbs; their drink water; and deer-skins served

them for clothes. Having constructed an oratory and a small habitation surrounded with trees, they remained there for full seven years without conversing with any other person. (148) Colman's reputation becoming very great, he was taken notice of by Guaire, a prince of great piety and liberality, who offered him as much land, as he should wish for the establishment of a religious community. The saint refused to accept of more than a small spot, on which he afterwards erected a monastery, and where he became bishop. (149) It was not far distant from his former habitation, and has been called, from his name, *Kill-macduach*. This foundation took place in the early part of the reign of Guaire, (150) and probably before the year 620. (151) After a well spent life, St Colman died on a third of February, (152) but in what year is not recorded. His memory has been most highly revered in his diocese. As to the bishop Loman named in the same class, he was, as far as I can judge, no other than the Loman or Luman bishop of Trim, whom some writers have, without sufficient foundation, pushed up as far as the commencement of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland. (153) Nothing certain is known concerning this saint, except that he was revered on the 17th of February at Trim, where his remains were deposited together with those of several other saints, who are called his companions. (154) Who the bishop Murgeus was I cannot discover, unless he may be supposed to have been the same as Murgenius (155) an abbot of Glean-ussen, who might have been a bishop, although I do not find him called by that title. (156) Ultan, who is the second named in the list of bishops, I place last, because he survived the others, at least those, the years of whose death are known. He was of the house of Hua-Conchovair (O'Connor) and is said to have been related to St. Brigid by her mother's side. (157) He was bishop at Ardbraccan, and is supposed to have

been the founder of that see. (158) Ultan's name is often mentioned, particularly on account of his writings, one of which was a Life, or, at least, a work on some Acts of St. Patrick. (159) He wrote also a similar treatise concerning the transactions of St. Brigid; (160) and some have attributed to him a Latin hymn in honour of the same saint. (161) Ultan died on the 4th of September, A. D. 657. (162)

(145) Usher is evidently wrong (*p.* 964) in making Colman bishop of Lindisfarne, the same as Colman of the third class. That Colman did not die until 676, and accordingly was not the person alluded to, whereas the times of said class terminated in 665. It may, perhaps, be supposed, that Colman of Doire-mor above treated of, (§. 3.) and who flourished during that period, was the one meant by the author; but, as he seems to have been less known than Colman of Kilmacduach, it is more probable that the latter was the person whom said author had in view.

(146) See above *Not.* 91.

(147) *AA. SS.* *p.* 248. Colgan shows, that Keating was mistaken (*Hist. &c.* Book 2.) in making him a brother of Guaire. He was wrong also in calling him *Mochua*. These are trifles, compared with some prodigious fables, which Keating picked up concerning this saint.

(148) Colman's Acts, *cap.* 7. at 3 *Feb.* St. Colman retired to the forest in the time of Colman surnamed *Aidhne*, by which distinctive name the Southern Hy-fiachra of Connaught were known. (See *AA. SS.* *p.* 381.) This Colman was father to Guaire, and son of Cobhtach, who was a first cousin of Duach the father of St. Colman. (*ib.* *p.* 248.)

(149) Colgan pretends that Colman was a bishop, before he retired into the forest. His argument is, that some writers, when speaking of him as being in this retirement, give him that title. This proves no more than that he was a bishop at some time of his life; but it does not follow that he was one, when in the forest. To say that *bishop Colman spent seven years in a desert*, has nothing to do with the time of his consecration. It might as well be argued from a person's saying, *King George was born in 1762*,

that he was a king in that year. An authority, the best I find for Colman's proceedings, quoted by Colgan (*Acts, cap. 12.*) has, "Cellam extruxit (Colmanus), quae ejus nomine Kill-macduach vulgo appellata est, quaeque postea, a rege Guario ejusque successoribus multis praediis dotata, in *sedem episcopalem*—erecta est."

(150) We have seen (*Not. 148.*) that Colman retired to the forest prior to the reign of Guaire. How long he was there before this king's accession is not known; yet, as he spent there, in all, not more than seven years, the foundation of Killmacduagh must be assigned to some one of the first years of that reign. This is confirmed by the circumstance, that Colman was settled at Killmacduagh at the time of St. Maidoc's visit to Guaire. (Maidoc, *Life cap. 41.*) Now, it is stated, (*ib.*) that Guaire lived for 30 years after said visit. On the other hand, Guaire's reign lasted, at most, 38 years; (*AA. SS. p. 219.*) and thus it is clear, that Killmacduach was founded in the early part of it.

(151) Colgan calculates, that Colman flourished in 620. He gives it as his opinion (*AA. SS. p. 219.*) that Guaire died about 642, and that the 4 Masters were wrong in their date of 662. He asserts (*ib. p. 246.*) that Guaire flourished about 630, as appears from all our ancient histories. According to Colgan's statement, and supposing that Guaire reigned 38 years, the commencement of his reign may be placed about 604. Then, if we suppose that Colman founded Killmacduach in the 5th or 6th year of that reign (and it could scarcely have been later) this foundation may be assigned to about 610. Having touched upon the times of Guaire, I may be allowed to animadvert on a huge anachronism of Keating, who makes him contemporary with Diernit Mac Cervail, king of Ireland, whose reign began in 544, and ended in 565. How could he have fallen into such a mistake, while knowing that Guaire carried on a war against Dioma, who succeeded Fáilbhe Fland, as king of Cashel, and whose reign did not begin until 634? (See above *Not. 39.*)

(152) This is the day marked for his *Natalis* in the Calendars; and yet it is not, as Ware and Harris say, that on which his festival is kept at Killmacduach. The day fixed for it in that diocese is the 29th of October. How this came to pass, I am not able to explain.

(153) See *Not. 35 to Chap. v.*

(154) Colgan having patched up (at 17 Feb.) a sort of Acts of St. Loman, founded almost entirely on certain stories in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick and in Joceline, quotes from the *Martyrol. Tamlaet.* the following passage; "Lomani Athtrumensis cum sociis suis; id est, Patricio hostiario, Lurecho filio Cuanach, Fortcherno et Coelo Ochtra, Aido, Aedo, Acdo, Cormaco episcopo, Conano, Comeno episcopo, Lacteno sacerdote, Ossano, Sarano, Conallo, Colmano, Luctano episcopo, et Finnsecha virgine. Hi omnes Athtrumiae requiescunt." If by *sociis suis* we should understand disciples of Loman, as Colgan seems to think, Loman must be brought to much later times than those of St. Patrick. If, for instance, Ossanus was a disciple of his, Loman certainly belonged to the 7th century; for this Ossanus was, in all appearance, the person of that name, whose memory was revered at Rath-ossain near the West gate of Trim, and whose death is marked at A. D. 686. (*AA. SS. p. 367.*) Others of them are placed by Colgan himself in still later times. It may be objected, that Tirechan, who is supposed to have lived in the seventh century, speaks of Loman as being in St. Patrick's days. (See Usher *p. 853.*) But, if Tirechan lived so early, the account given of Loman is undoubtedly an interpolation thrust into his work. For no author of that century could have written certain nonsense therein contained, such as *ex. c.* that prince Fedlimid, a son of king Leogaire, made a grant of *all* his territory, property, and family to the saints Patrick and Loman, and thus to the church of Trim. Such fables, relative to ecclesiastical endowments, did not appear in Ireland until a much later period. (Compare with *Not. 35 to Chap. v.*) Usher, having swallowed, at least in part, the stories about the Loman connected with St. Patrick, mentions, as if to find out the Loman of the third class, two other Lomans. But there is no account of their having been bishops; nor does Colgan, who adds (*AA. SS. p. 363.*) something about them, pretend that they were.

(155) Usher says (*p. 965*) that in the genealogies of Irish saints Murgeus is called *Muirgeni Liban.*

(156) Colgan has (*AA. SS. p. 418.*) Murgenius abbot of Gleanussen, whose name is in the calendars at 27 *Januar.* He was later than Comgan, of whom above, (*Chap. x. §. 14.*) but is not

mentioned as his immediate successor. I do not meet any where else with the name of Murgensis.

(157) See *Not.* 20. to *Chap.* VIII.

(158) Wake *Antiq.* cap. 29. and Harris (*Bishops at Meath*). Ardbraccan, or the *high place of Braccan*, was so called from an abbot Braccan, who, according to Ware (*Writers, at Braccan*) was alive in 650. If this be true, Ultan must have been but for a short time bishop there. Braccan is said to have written some prophacies.

(159) See *Tripart. L.* 1. c. 69. and *L.* 3. c. 99.

(160) In the Prologue to Chilen's metrical Life of St. Brigid (See *Not.* 18. to *Chap.* VIII.) we read; "Scriptserunt multi virtutes virginis almæ, *Ultanus* doctor, atque Eleranus evans," &c. We have seen (*ib.*) how much Colgan was mistaken in supposing that Ultan's work on St. Brigid was the tract, which he has published under the title of her *Third Life*. Whether Ultan wrote it, as well as that on St. Patrick, in Latin or Irish I am not able to ascertain.

(161) Having already treated of this hymn, (*Not.* 81 to *Chap.* IX.) I shall merely observe, that it must not be confounded with another on St. Brigid, but written in Irish, usually ascribed to Columbkil, although, as Usher says, (*p.* 963.) some have thought it was composed by Ultan. Colgan, who has given (*Tr. Th.* p. 606.) a Latin translation of it, says nothing about its ever having been attributed to him.

(162) The 4 Masters, quoted by Colgan, (*Tr. Th.* p. 518.) have; "An. Christi 656 (657) S. Ultanus Hua Conchevair, episcopus de Ardbraccan, obiit 4 Sept. an. ætatis suæ 160." This date is also that of the Ulster annals. (See Usher, *p.* 963 and *Ind. Chron.*) As to his having lived until his 160th year, this fable was probably made up to account for his having been a contemporary of Brogan, author of the Irish poem on St. Brigid, (See *Not.* 18 to *Chap.* VIII.) and who had been supposed to have flourished early in the sixth century. The truth is, that either Ultan was not contemporary with Brogan, or, if he was, that the latter lived in the seventh century; and that he did appears from what he has (*Stroph.* 10.) concerning St. Coemgen of Glendalech.

§. XII. As to the holy priests of the third class, the order of time does not permit me to enter *seriatim* upon their history in this place, as several of them lived to a later period than some distinguished persons belonging to the first half of the seventh century, and after the times of certain important occurrences, by which the Irish church was much agitated. We have seen that Baithen abbot of Hy, and consequently chief of the whole Columbian order, died in 598. (163) He was succeeded by Fergnaus or Virgnous, (164) whose real name was Fergna. (165) It has been supposed that he was a distant relative of Columbkil; but this opinion is more than uncertain. (166) He had been from his youth a disciple of his at Hy, and was then remarkable for his good disposition and piety. (167) Little else is known concerning him, except that he governed Hy and its dependencies until 623, in which year he died on the 2d of March. (168) Fergnaus was succeeded by Segeneus, son of Fiacrius and great great grandson of Fergus the grandfather of Columbkil. (169) We shall meet with Segeneus hereafter; meanwhile it is sufficient to observe, that he was the founder of the church of Raohlin, (170) and that he held the abbacy of Hy, &c. for 29 years, having lived until 652. (171) Senach, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 640, was, as already stated; (172) succeeded Mac-Laisre, or the son of Laisre, concerning whom so little is recorded, that even his Christian name is not known. (173) He died in 623, and his commemoration was held on the 2d of September, probably the anniversary of his death. (174) Mac-Laisre's immediate successor was Thomian or Thoman, the son of Roman. (175) Having governed the see of Armagh for about 37 years, Thomian died on the 10th of January, A. D. 661. (176) He took an active part in the Paschal controversy; and we find his name the first placed in the letter of the Roman clergy,

written in 640, to several Irish prelates, priests, and abbots on that and some other subjects, which will be treated of lower down.

(163) See *Chap. xii. §. 15.*

(164) Usher, *p. 702.*

(165) Colgan has the Acts of Fergna or Fergnaus at 2 *Mart.* The 4 Masters interpose between Baithen and Fergna Lasrean, who had been abbot of Durrough in Columbkil's time. (See *Not. 179 to Chap. xi.*) Colgan observes, that in several calendars, which mention Lasrean at 16 *Sept.* he is called abbot of Hy. And indeed it is probable that he was, yet only for a short time. The account given by the 4 Masters of the time during which his administration lasted, as likewise of that of Baithen, is so confused and, on the whole, so different from Usher's statements derived from the Ulster annals, that I am not able to form any decision on these points. (Compare with *Not. 242 to Chap. xii.*)

(166) The only sort of argument for that relationship is the genealogy of a St. Fergna, (*sp. AA. SS. p. 450.*) a descendant of Conal Gulbanus, the great grandfather of Columbkil. But this Fergna was in the seventh generation from said Conal; and hence Colgan admits, that it is scarcely credible that he was the abbot of Hy.

(167) Adamnan makes mention of him (*L. 3. c. 19.*) in these terms; "Virgnous bonae indolis juvenis, qui postea, Deo auctore, huic praeuit Ecclesiae;" and again, "Virgnous in Dei amore serviens." Colgan (*Acts, &c.*) has confounded him with the Virgnous, to whom Lugaid announced the death of Columbkil, (See *Not. 117 to Chap. xi.*) although nothing can be more clear than that they were different persons. This Virgnous, having gone from Ireland to the Hebrides¹ after the death of Columbkil, spent, as Adamnan relates, (*L. 3. c. 23.*) the remainder of his life in Hymba, partly as a monk in a state of subjection, and partly as a hermit. How then could he have been the abbot of Hy? Colgan strove to evade this argument by a quibble founded on a false reading in his edition of Adamnan, who writes: "Virgnous post multos in subiectione inter fratres inreprehensibiliter expletos annos," &c. Instead of *multos*, as Messingham's and other editions have, that of Colgan has *multorum*, by which the whole passage becomes ungrammatical and nonsensical. He

then endeavours to shew, that the words, *multorum in subjectione*, are to be understood of Virgnous having had many persons subject to him. Where did he find such a phrase used for *the government of others*? Adamnan could not have written this barbarous Latin. But, as *multorum* is a palpable error, I need not say more about it.

(168) 4 Masters, *Tr. Th.* p. 498. *AA. SS.* p. 449. Their date is 622, i. e. 623 as Usher has it, p. 702, and *Ind. Chron.* Some of our calendarists have very absurdly called Fergna a bishop, and indeed of Hy. Surely nothing is more certain than that the abbots of Hy were always only priests, at least as long as they continued to be abbots. See *Not.* 234, 235 to *Chap.* XII.

(169) See *Tr. Th.* p. 374. (170) See *Not.* 111 to *Chap.* XI.

(171) Usher, p. 702. *Tr. Th.* p. 498.

(172) Above §. 2. In the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh (*Tr. Th.* p. 293.) the name of Senach does not appear, owing to an omission of the printer. It is clear, that Colgan did not mean to live him out, as he had Senach's name before his eyes not only in the list from the Psalter of Cashel, but likewise in his favourite authority the Annals of the 4 Masters, who have at A. 609 (610); *Senachus Ardm. obiit*. Therefore Harris, instead of charging Colgan (*Bishops at Armagh*) with this omission, ought to have left it at the door of the printer, a wight, who has done infinite mischief to Colgan's works and caused vast trouble to the readers of them.

(173) Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 293.) imagined, that his real name was perhaps *Terennan*. For in a Life of St. Laurence of Canterbury it is said, that a St. Terennan archbishop of Ireland waited on him, and not only acknowledged the correctness of the Roman computation of Easter time, and of other practices, but likewise greatly exerted himself to introduce them into Ireland. Mac Laisre and Laurence were indeed contemporaries; but there is not the least foundation for what is here stated. Accordingly it cannot be of any use towards clearing up any part of Mac Laisre's history.

(174) See *Tr. Th.* p. 294, and Ware, *Bishops at Mac Laisre*.

(175) Colgan treats of Thomian at 10 Jan. He talks of his noble birth, singular learning, &c. all which may be true; yet I wish he had given us his authorities.

(176) Colgan, *id.* His date, taken from the 4 Masters, is 660 which Ware justly calls 661.

§. XIII. One of the greatest ornaments of the period we are now inquiring into was St. Carthagh, usually denominated of *Lismore*, and otherwise called *Mochuttai* or *Mochuda*. (177) He was a native of Kerry, (178) and is said to have been of a noble family. (179) Yet we find him, when a boy, actually employed in tending his father's swine near the banks of the river Mang, when Providence put him in the way of being introduced to the holy bishop Carthagh the elder. (180) It is related that, as the bishop and some of his clergy proceeding in that tract were singing psalms, they were overheard by young Carthagh, who was so delighted with their psalmody, that neglecting the swine, he followed them as far as the monastery of Thuaím, where they were to remain during the night. (181) He did not enter the monastery, but unknown to the bishop and the people of the house, stopped without, near the apartment allotted to the bishop's party, listening to them, as they continued to sing until they lay down to sleep. It being now very late, Moeltuili, the chieftain of the district, who was very fond of Mochuda, and with whom he chiefly lived, became uneasy about him and sent persons to search for him, who having found him near the monastery, brought him the next day to Moeltuili's residence. Being asked why he had staid out during the night, he answered, "My Lord Chieftain, my reason for not coming to you was my being charmed with the divine song, which I heard the holy clergy singing, and I wish I were along with them, that I might learn that song." On hearing this, Moeltuili immediately sent for the bishop requesting of him to lose no time in calling upon him, and, when he came, recommended the

boy to his care and to his being pleased to instruct him. The holy prelate, perceiving that he was gifted with an excellent disposition, received him with joy, and being greatly attached to him, kept him with himself, until he ordained him priest. (182) If the time of Mochuda's ordination was, as appears not improbable, about the year 580, (183) we may calculate that he was born about the middle of the sixth century.

(177) In a Life of his called the second, and published by the Bollandists at 14 May, it is said (*cap.* 1.) that at baptism he was called Carthagh, and that afterwards the name *Mochuda* was given him by his master Carthagh the elder. Yet it is probable that his original name was *Chuda*, or *Chuttai* (Cuddy) and that his master, who was very fond of him, did no more in this respect than instead of calling him *Chuda*, addresses him by the affectionate mode, *Mochuda*, that is, my dear Chuda. This Life, which is long and circumstantial, is far from being accurate in many of its assertions. There is reason to think that his being called also *Carthagh* was owing to his having been a disciple of the real Carthagh, as if we should say *Carthagh's Mochuda*. The other Life, called the first, has no mention of this or many other circumstances, and contains very little of a historical kind. Accordingly in my references to this saint's Life the reader is to understand that called the second, which is also the one usually quoted by Usher and Colgan.

(178) De gente Kiarraigh Luack (Luachra). *Life*, *cap.* 1.

(179) Keating (*History*, &c. *Book* 2.) says, that he was a Kerry man of noble birth and son of Feargus mac Roigh. In the Life he is represented as the descendant of a Fergus once prince of Ulster, who had been killed by Olella king of Connaught, and whose posterity were scattered through various parts of Ireland. It is added that Mochuda's father was Fingen son of Guel.

(180) See *Cap.* xi. §. 5. (181) See *Not.* 50. to *Chap.* xi.

(182) *Life*, *cap.* 1. See also Colgan *AA. SS.* p. 475. In referring to the chapters of this Life I follow the division of the Bollandists, omitting their subdivisions.

(183) See *Not.* 52. to *Chap.* xi.

§. 14. Being now a priest, it is said that he constructed a cell, called Killtulach, somewhere not far from the Mang; (184) but he did not remain there long, for, as we are told, he thence went to Bangor to place himself under the direction of St. Comgall, and, having staid there for some time, returned to Kerry, where he employed his time in attending to clerical duties. (185) Next we find him visiting Molua of Clonfert-molua, and afterwards Colman-elo, with whom he wished to remain at Land-elo. But this saint advised him to form an establishment for himself at a place not far distant, called Raithin or Rathen. (186) Carthagh acted according to his directions, and there erected a monastery, which soon became very celebrated. He drew up a Rule (187) for the direction of his monks, who, as persons flocked to him from various parts both of Ireland and Great Britain, are said to have swelled to the number of 867, all of whom provided for themselves and the poor by the labour of their hands. (188) While at Rathen, where he remained forty years, Carthagh was consecrated bishop. (189) Notwithstanding his great sanctity, and the extraordinary esteem in which he was generally held, he had, as has been the case with many illustrious and holy men, to encounter the envy of some clergymen or monks (190) of a neighbouring district, who at length induced Blathmac, son of Aidus Slani, and prince of that country, (191) to expel him and his monks from Rathen in the year 630. (192) Thence Carthagh went, accompanied by many of his monks, to Drumcullin the monastery of St. Barrjin (Barindeus), (193) and having stopped there a while proceeded to Saiger, next to Roscrea, and thence to Cashel, where he was very kindly received by the king Failbhe Fland, who offered him a place for erecting a monastery, and whom he cured of a sore eye. Declining this offer the saint went to Ardfinan, and there constructed a cell, rather as a temporary

habitation than a regular monastery. (194) Soor after Moelochtride prince of Nandesí, who was son in law to Failbhe Fland, made him a grant of the tract in which Lismore is situated. (195) In this place Carthagh formed a religious establishment not later, I think, than the year 633, (196) which, as he was already a bishop, became also an episcopal see, and within a short lapse of time acquired an extraordinary celebrity, and gave rise to a considerable town, as the very name, *Lismore*, indicates. (197) Its school, or, as it might now be called, university, was for a very long time equal, at least to any other in Ireland, and, (198) besides the Irish from all parts, was resorted to by students and religious persons not only from England and the rest of Britain, but likewise from various parts of the continent. (199) Lismore, however, did not rise to this pitch of greatness during the life of Carthagh, for he died a short time after he had there completed his establishments, having spent the last 18 months of his course in retirement in a lonesome part of the valley at the East of the town. (200) The day of this great saint's death was the 14th of May, and the year 637. (201) He was buried at Lismore, of which he was the first bishop. (202)

(184) It is stated in the Life (*cap.* 11.) that this cell was between the mountain Mysis and the Mang. How that mountain is now called I do not know.

(185) According to the Life (*ib.*) it would seem as if he then acted as bishop in Kerry. This is directly contrary to what is expressly stated in the second chapter of his having been consecrated bishop at Rathen, where he was not settled until some time later. Accordingly the care, which he is said to have taken of Kerry or of a great part of it, must, if true, be understood of his exertions, not as bishop, but as a missionary priest.

(186) It is now called Rathyne, and is situated in the barony of Fertullagh, county of Westmeath.

(187) This rule was written in Irish. Usher had or saw a copy

of it in an ancient MS. together with the Rules of Ailbe, Columbkil, and Comgall, all written, he says, in very old Irish, and exceedingly difficult to understand. See p. 919.

(188) *Cap. 2.* In the Life, called the first, the number of monks is stated at 847, and it is added; "*labore manuum suarum victum sibi ac pauperibus acquirentium.*" Usher (p. 911.) refers to another Life, in which the number is said to have been 844.

(189) Life, *ib.*

(190) In the Life (*cap. 4.*) they are called envious clergymen. Keating says that they were the monks of Jobh-Neill. This place was somewhere not far from Rathen; how it is now called I cannot discover.

(191) In the Life, and elsewhere, it is said that Carthagh was expelled by king Blathmac. This must be understood not as if Blathmac were then king of all Ireland, which he did not become until 658 (above §. 1.) many years after the expulsion, but as said of him by anticipation, or inasmuch as he was at that time prince or king of Méath.

(192) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* The 4 Masters have A. 691 (632). See *AA. SS. p. 561.* Either of these dates come much nearer the truth than that of the Annals of Innisfallen 696. For, as, even according to these annals, Carthagh died in 637, where could time be found for his transactions subsequent to the expulsion, in case it occurred as late as 636? Besides, it was, as will be soon seen, prior to the death of Failbhe Fland, king of Cashel, which fell in the year 494. (Above, *Not. 39*)

(193) See *Chap. XII. §. 9.*

(194) The monastery, properly so called, of Ardfinan, was founded by St. Finian, surnamed the *leper*, who lived late in the seventh century.

(195) We read in the Life; (*cap. 4.*) "*Dux Nandesi Moe-lochtride filius Cobh-aich istam regionem, in qua nunc est civitas Mochudae Lismor, coram multis testibus obtulit S. Carthago.*" By *regionem* we are not to understand a large tract of country; for it is spoken of (*ib.*) as not much more than a field, formerly called *Maghsciath*, i. e. the field of the shield. Keating (*Book 2.*) says, that the old name of Lismore was *Dunsginne*, alluding,

I suppose, to the hill near Lismore, on which there might have been a *Dun* or fort in old times.

(196) Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) places Carthagh's arrival at Lismore in 630, the year of his expulsion from Rathen. But from his haltings here and there it appears probable, that it was somewhat later. Yet it could not have been as late as 636, to which it is assigned, together with the expulsion, in the *Annals of Innisfallen*. Carthagh could not, in this hypothesis, have completed this establishment and fixed it on a permanent footing before his death; nor could he have, as it is stated that he did, lived retired for 18 months after every thing had been properly arranged.

(197) According to the *Life* (*cap.* 4.) it would seem as if the name *Lismore*, or rather *Lios-more*, which signifies *great habitation, village, &c.* had been given to that place, before Carthagh's death. It states, that, when marking a site for the monastery, he was asked by a virgin Coemell, who had a cell in the neighbourhood, what he and his companions were about doing. He answered that they were preparing a small habitation to shelter themselves. It will not, she replied, be small but great; on which he subjoined; "What you say is true, for this place will be called *Liosmor scotice, latine autem Atrium magnum.*" The author then adds; "Egregia jam et sancta civitas est Liosmor; cujus dimidium est asylum, in quo nulla mulier audet intrare, sed plenum est cellis et monasteriis sanctis; et multitudo virorum sanctorum semper illi manet. Vir enim religiosi et omni parte Hiberniæ, et non solum, sed ex Anglia et Britannia confluent ad eam volentes ibi migrare ad Christum." That Lismore was resorted to also by continental students will be seen when we shall come to treat of St. Cataldus.

(198) See *AA. SS.* p. 154. (199) *Ib.* p. 557.

(200) *Life*, *cap.* 4.

(201) *Annals of Innisfallen and Ulster*. Usher, (*Ind. Chron.*) The 4 Masters, (*ap. AA. SS.* p. 561) have A. 636; which comes to the same point. Ware, (at *Writers*) agrees with Usher, &c. Yet (*Antiq. cap.* 29. and *Bishops*) he marks 638. This is a mistake founded, I suppose, on his having thought, that the 637 of the *Annals of Innisfallen* should be understood as 638. He might

have observed, that these annals do not generally anticipate the vulgar era, as those of Ulster and the 4 Masters do.

(202) Colgan, or some fellow-labourer of his, has most awkwardly placed, in the Topographical index to *AA. SS.* under the head of Lismore in Munster, Lugadius, who was bishop or abbot of the island of Lismore one of the Hebrides, and died in 589. Hence Archdall has him at our Lismore, thus leading astray the reader, as if there were, at least, a monastery in this place before that of Carthagh. (Compare with *Not.* 102 to *Chap.* xii.) And what is still more unchronological, he places there a bishop, John in the time of St. Senan of Inniscatthy. Colgan, indeed, is to blame for this mistake also; for having met with, in a Life of St. Senan, a bishop of that name as contemporary with him, he threw out, with his usual carelessness about anachronisms, a conjecture (*AA. SS. p.* 539.) that he was perhaps the John, who is mentioned as bishop of Lismore in a calendar at 13 *Nov.* But the Calendar does not state at what period this John of Lismore lived. Archdall, however, had no right to give as certain what Colgan proposed as a conjecture. Then we find another mistake as to a St. Neman, whom the 4 Masters (*ib. p.* 568) call abbot of Lismore, placing his death in 610 (611). They could not have meant the Lismore of Munster; but it has unluckily happened, that in the above-mentioned index Neman is mentioned under the head of it, and thence Archdall removed him to that place. In like manner he brought thither an abbot Eochaid, or, as he incorrectly calls him, Leochaid, whose death is assigned (*ib. p.* 163.) to A. D. 634 (635). And why? Because he likewise is called abbot of Lismore, as if there were no Lismore except that of Munster. The 4 Masters and Colgan well knew that the abbot of this Lismore in 635 was Carthagh himself. Eochaid was, in all probability, a Columbian monk, and perhaps the Eochaid or Eoglod celebrated by Scottish writers as a preacher among the Picts, and of whom Colgan treats at 25 *Januar.* It is very natural to suppose, that he was abbot of the island of Lismore. Besides all these strangers, Archdall introduces another, as prior to Carthagh, for whom Colgan is not any way responsible, viz. St. Maidoc (misspelt *Maidoe*), and for no other reason than that Colgan, reckoning up (*ib. p.* 221) several saints of this name, has among them a bishop of Lismore, without, however, a word concerning the times, in which

he lived. The wonderful critic Archdall took it into his head to make him earlier than Carthagh. The fact is, that, as is evident from the concurrent testimony of his Lives, and all our Annals, and even of Colgan, when expressly treating on this subject, there was no monastery at Lismore until the foundation by Carthagh, and that he was both its first bishop and first abbot.

§. xv. St. Cuanna of Kill-chuanna (Killcoonagh) in the county of Galway, where he governed a monastery, or, at least, a church, was maternal brother to St. Carthagh. (203) It is probable that he spent some time at Rathen, before he formed any establishment for himself. (204) If he became abbot of Lismore, as I find him called (205), it must be admitted, that, leaving Kill-chuanna, he succeeded Carthagh as abbot, and perhaps as bishop. (206) But the whole matter is very uncertain. Equally uncertain is the supposition of his having been the author of a historical work concerning Ireland. (207) St. Cuanna died on a 4th of February; but in what year is not known. (208) Out of the vast number of disciples, whom St. Carthagh had at Rathen, some are particularly named as having distinguished themselves by their humility; and it is related that the saint before his death assigned cells or religious houses to be governed by them (209) The first mentioned, as he had been the first who became a monk at Rathen under Carthagh, is Mochua son of Mellain, (210) otherwise called Cronan. (211) Nothing more is known concerning his parentage, or in what part of Ireland he was born. As to the time of his birth, it was probably about the year 570. (212) Having spent many years in a most exemplary manner, at Rathen he was placed by Carthagh over a small establishment at Cluain-Dachran, (213) a place in that neighbourhood; Carthagh telling him at the same time, that this would not be the place of his resurrection, as he should have to go elsewhere. At what peculiar time Mochua was appointed to that

situation we do not find ; but it must have been prior, by perhaps several years, to the expulsion from Rathen. (214) In the general persecution of the monks of that institution we may justly suppose that Mochua was not spared ; and we find him afterwards in another part of Ireland, as Carthagh had foretold. It appears that he governed a church, and perhaps a monastery, at Glaismor in the now county of Waterford. (215) According to some accounts Mochua presided over a monastery at another Glaismor (216) situated near Swords. But they rest upon very doubtful authority, and, as far as I can discover, no better than a mere similarity of names. (217) In what year this saint died is not recorded. His memory was revered at Lismore and in other parts of Nandesi on the 10th of February. (218) Among the eminent disciples of Carthagh are reckoned three Mochoemogs, one the son of Vairt, another the son of Cuaith, and a third, who afterwards became a bishop. Nothing further is known concerning them, (219) and almost equally obscure is the history of the three brothers Gobban, Graphan, and Laseran, sons of Nescainn, the first of whom is called a bishop. (220) This much may be relied on, that they were placed by Carthagh in a monastery, which he erected in a small island called *Inispict*, (221) about or before the year 620 on occasion, of a visit to Munster. Having remained there for a year, Carthagh, returning to Rathen, left these three brothers at Inispict under the care of a bishop Domangen, (222) together with twelve other monks. From this superintendence of Domangen it is clear, that Gobban, although he became a bishop somewhere or other, was not one at the time of his entering this monastery. It is not improbable, that his see was the very island of Inispict. (223) As to his brothers, I can find nothing further, that can be depended upon. (224) Next come, in the list of Carthagh's disciples, the names *Mohua Lughayr*. Whether they indicate one

or two persons, (225) nothing is known concerning him or those, to whom they belonged. Then are mentioned Aidan, Fiachna, (226) and last of all Finlug.

(203) In Cuanna's Acts at 4 *Febr.* Colgan quotes the following passage from the calendar of Cashel; "4 Febr. Natalis S. Cuannae, cujus ecclesia est in occidentali plaga Connaciae, et alia de Killchuanna in regione de Tirbrivin: Cormana nomen matris. Est de Lismoro, et ex eadem matre frater sancti Mochudae." His mother Cormana was otherwise called *Meadh* or *Finmeadh*; but Colgan shows that there was no real difference between these names. He says that Cuanna's father was Midarn or Midhurn of the house of Niall. Yet elsewhere (*AA. SS. p. 338.*) he distinguishes, and I believe justly, Cuanna son of Midarn from the half brother of Carthagh. Killcoonagh the saint's principal establishment is now a parish church in the diocese of Tuam and deanery of Annadown. The other Killcoonagh was somewhere in the Hy-briun country (*Tir-brivin*) likewise in Connaught, and was probably only a church dedicated to St. Cuanna. Archdall places it in Roscommon near the Shannon. Neither of them must be confounded with a Killchuanagh, supposed to have been in Sligo, and governed by a Cuanna disciple of Columbkille. (See *Not. 115. to Chap. xi.*) Nor must this Cuanna be confounded with the other, although Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 489.*) seems to have done so. But in the Acts he does not, where not a word occurs about the brother of Carthagh ever having been with Columbkille. Archdall, who seems to have been fond of jumbling, has confounded them completely.

(204) It is said in Carthagh's Life (*cap. 3.*) that Cuanna a disciple of the saint went from Rathen to a district called *Huibh-echach*, not far from Lismore, together with a bishop Dimma, who also had been a disciple of his. Cuanna is likewise there called bishop, but, as Colgan thinks, by anticipation. Perhaps he was the same as the maternal brother of Carthagh, although styled only his disciple.

(205) St. Cuanna is usually said to have been of Lismore; *de Lismoro* (See *Not. 208.*) or *Cuanna Lismorensis*. In one Calendar he is expressly called *abbas Lismorensis*. This may be a

mistake founded on his being named *of Lismore*, as he might have been in consequence of his having been there with Carthagh. Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 338.*) explains the words, *de Lismoro*, of the Calendar of Cashel, as signifying that Cuanna's memory was revered at Lismore on the 4th of February. But it does not follow that he was abbot in that place; and, had he been, it is odd that in said calendar this title is omitted.

(206) Colgan (*ib.*) was of this opinion, for which, however, he adduces no satisfactory proof. Were it true, it would throw light on what is said of the bishop Cuanna. (See *Not. 204.*)

(207) Ware (*Writers*) observes that the book of Cuan or Cuanna is often quoted in the Ulster Annals down to A. D. 628, but not later. Hence he thought it probable, that the author Cuanna flourished about this period. Whether he did or not, something more than this circumstance would be requisite to induce us to believe that he was the Cuanna of Kill-chuapa.

(208) Cuanna's death seems to have occurred during the time that St. Fursey was at Perron in France. Hence Colgan deduced, that it probably was about 650; whereas Fursey was not at Perron until 648, and died there in 652.

(209) Life of Carthagh, *cap. 3.*

(210) Usher, (*p. 971*) instead of *Mellain*, has *Niellain*, and has been followed by Harris (*Monaster. at Cluan-Dachran*) and Archdall (at *Clonranc.*) Every where else I find him called *Mellain*, or *Mellan*.

(211) Colgan has him under this name at 10 *Febr.* In the Menologium of Maguir we read; "Mochua de Miliuc, id est, Cronanus filius Mellani." It is remarkable, that many of our saints Cronan are also called *Mochua*, *i. e.* My Chua.

(212) In Carthagh's Life (*cap. 3.*) Mochua is represented as having been from his youth a monk at Rathen. As he was the first, who there embraced the monastic state, we may assign his profession to about 590, the year in which, or nearly so, that establishment was formed, as appears from Carthagh's having governed it for forty years until his expulsion in or about 630. Now, if we suppose that Mochua was only 20 years of age, when he became a monk, we will have his birth about 570. According to a canon of the ancient Irish church the age of 20 years was necessary for the validity of the monastic vow, *voto per ficiendo*,

as laid down in the 17th article of the *Synodus S. Patricii*, p. 35, in Ware's *Opusc. S. Patr. &c.* In some other churches the age of 18 was sufficient in those times, as appears from a decree of the second council of Toledo held in the year 531.

(213) Archdall calls it *Clonrane*, and places it in the barony of Moycashel, Westmeath. It was certainly somewhere very near Rathen; in *proximo civitatis Rathen*, as expressed in Carthagh's Life.

(214) The foundation of Cluain-dachran is very stupidly assigned by Archdall to about 630. Surely that, being the time of the persecution of Carthagh and his monks, was not a fit one for his forming new establishments near Rathen.

(215) It is now called Clashmore. In the calendars Mochua or Cronan is said to be *de Glaismor in Desiis Momoniae*. Glaismor is confounded by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 598.*) with an unknown place called *Gassmor*, where one Cuancheir, a disciple of Pulcherius of Liathmore, is said to have erected a monastery. Colgan thought that Cuancheir was the same as Mochua, of whom we are now treating. But Mochua was never a disciple of Pulcherius; and the account given of Cuancheir is so fabulous, that what is said of him is not worth attending to. Yet Archdall assigns the foundation of Clashmore to said Cuancheir, differing in this respect from Harris, who more correctly attributes it to Cronan, *al. Mochua*.

(216) Archdall has it under the head of *Moortown*.

(217) In some calendars a doubt is expressed, whether the Glaismor of Mochua was that in the Nandesi country, or the one near Swords. This doubt was encreased by the circumstance of there having been a Cronan abbot of the latter. Looking to the connexion between Mochua and Carthagh, it appears much more probable that his Glaismor was the former, as being situated not far from Lismore. The fact is, that the Cronan of Glaismor, near Swords must have been different from the disciple of Carthagh, and lived at a much later period. He and all his monks were killed, as our calendarists tell us, by a party of Danes, who went to attack his monastery from their station at Inbher-Domnann. Now the Danes had no such stations in Ireland as early as the period we are treating of; nor is there any certain account of their infesting the Irish coasts until 795. (See

Ware, *Antiq. cap. 24*, and J. P. Murray, *De Colon. Scand. &c. in Nov. Comment. Soc. Gotting. Tom. 3.*) This is more than sufficient to dispel the doubt, and to show that there is no sufficient foundation for removing Mochua from the Glaismor of Nandesi. Each Glaismor happened to have its Cronan, and hence the confusion. Inbher-Domnann was the mouth of some river to the north of Dublin between it and Holmpatrick, as we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, (*L. 1. c. 44.*) where it is stated that the saint, sailing along the coast of the *Bregenses*, and therefore northwards of Dublin, put into the river's mouth Inbher Domnann, and thence passed over to Inis-Padruic (Holmpatrick.)

(218) The Martyrologium Tam-lact. has at 10 Febr. "S. Cronani filii Mellain in Desis et Lismoriae." From this and some similar expressions it does not follow, as Colgan thought, that he might have been abbot at Lismore. The phrase merely means that his festival was kept there.

(219) Archdall (at *Lismore*) has thrust in among its saints a St. Mochoemog, or, as he calls him, Macaomog as having died in 655. But the Mochoemog, whom he meant, did not belong to Lismore. He was the celebrated Mochoemog or Pulcherius of Liathmore, a person quite different from the disciples of Carthagh.

(220) Colgan has patched up, chiefly from the Life of Carthagh, the Acts of St. Gobban, (at 17 *Mart.*) in which he treats also of his two brothers.

(221) Inispict lies near Inisharkan or Inishirkan off Carberry, county of Cork. Archdall says; "near Inishirkan in the barony of Muskerry." If near Inishirkan, how could it be in that barony? Colgan indeed, not knowing its situation, happened to place it in Muskerry. He might have easily perceived, that it could not have been in that district, being a maritime island, *in freto Eogain*, as mentioned in the Life of Carthagh.

222 St. Domangen's memory was revered on the 29th of April at Tuaim Muscraighe. Archdall did not know where this place was situated. I believe it was the same as Tome, a place marked, as in Muskerry, in Smith's map of the county of Cork.

(223) Colgan conjectures, and with much probability, that Inispict was the place, in which Gobban's anniversary was com-

memorated on the 17th of March. In this hypothesis we may suppose, that it was there he presided as bishop and finished his earthly career. The monastery of Inispict was for a long period held in high consideration.

(224) Colgan has, without any authority, changed the name of Sraphan into Stephen. And why? Because he wished to find out a day for his commemoration. Now a St. Stephen was revered at Clonemore (co. Wexford) on the 23d of May. *Ergo*, he concludes, Sraphan was Stephen. Bravo! Archdall was such an humble follower of Colgan, that (at *Inispict*) he omitted the name *Sraphan*, instead of which he has given us *Stephen*. Then to find a day for Laseran, Colgan makes him the same as a Lasrean of Ardmacnasca (co. Down) for this mighty reason that Lasrean was son of one Nasc or Nascha. But in the first place *Nasc* is not the same name as *Nescainn*. And supposing it were, surely such an accidental coincidence is not a sufficient argument for removing Laseran, the brother of Gobban, from Inispict all the way to the county of Down. To what Colgan has about Lasrean of Ardmacnasca Archdall (*ad loc.*) adds from himself, that he was abbot of Hy, and died about 650. But even admitting, that there was a Lasrean abbot of Hy, (See above *Not.* 165.) he was different from the one of Ardmacnasca; for his father was not Nasc but Feradach. (*Tr. Th. p.* 498.) And as to his dying about 650, the 4 Masters (*ib.*) place the death of the supposed abbot of Hy in 601 (602). Colgan says nothing about the year, in which Lasrean of Ardmacnasca died. He states, (*AA. SS. p.* 17.) that he *flourished* about 652, which has been understood by Archdall as meaning death. Colgan observes that he died on a 25th of October. On this point Archdall is right enough; and it should have helped him to know, that this Lasrean was different from the supposed abbot of Hy, whose death is assigned to the 17th of September. Another mistake of Archdall is his placing Ardmacnasca in the county of Antrim. It was situated (Colgan, *ib.*) near a lough called *Loch-loedh*. Archdall, who cared nothing about misspelling names, instead of *loedh*, has *laoigh*, and then learnedly tells us that it is now called *Lough-neagh*. This is not true; nor is there an instance to be found of this lake having ever had such a name. *Loch-loedh*, or the *Calf's pool*, was near Downpatrick. (See *Tr. Th. p.* 386.) It is called by Adamnan (*Vit. S. C. L. 3. c.* 13.)

Stragnum demersi vituli, and is connected with Strangford lough. Steward has (*Topogr. &c.*) followed Archdall in this mistake, as unfortunately he has done in too many other cases.

(225) Usher (*p.* 971) reads them as a name and sur-name; Colgan (*AA. SS p.* 631.) as two distinct names, and, I dare say, justly. For, unless they be considered as such, the number of the 12 distinguished disciples of Carthagh, whom the author undertook to enumerate, will not be complete. Yet elsewhere (*p.* 303) he seems to read them as Usher does.

(226) Aidan had a cell near Mount-Luachra in Connillo, county Limerick. (See *Not.* 6. to *Chap.* xi.) Fiachna had also one near Coningnibh, somewhere, it seems, in the same district. Yet this is not the cell called from him *Kill-fiachna*, but that of Aidan, to which this name, instead of *Kill-Aidan* which it had at first, was given in consequence not, as Archdall says, of Fiachna's having lived in it, but of his having been buried there. (See Usher, *p.* 971.) He was, in all probability, the Fiachna, whose memory was revered in Inispiect on the 30th March, (*AA. SS. p.* 589) and whom Colgan has confounded with Fetchuo a companion of Columbkil, and one of the persons employed in the conversion of the Picts. To prop up his hypothesis, Colgan (*ib.*) pretends, that Inispiect mentioned in the calendars, where Fiachna's name occurs, means the islands of the Picts, that is, some of the Western isles of Scotland. Yet he knew that there was an Irish Inispiect, (See *Not.* 221.) and inhabited by monks of Carthagh's institution, to which Fiachna belonged. Why then go elsewhere to look for the place, in which this saint was venerated, or make *Fiachna* the same name as *Fetchuo*?

§. xvi. St. Libba or Molibba is said to have been bishop of Glendaloch in the early part of the seventh century. (227) His father was Colman or rather Colmad of the illustrious Leinster house of Dal-Messincorb, and his mother Coeltigerna was sister to St. Coemhgen. Molibba was probably the first bishop of that see, (228) and died on an eighth of January, but in what year is not recorded. Three brothers of his, Dagan, Mobai, and Menoc are also reckoned among the Irish saints. The most celebrated of

them was Dagan, usually called of Inverdaoile, a place near the sea in the now county of Wexford, where he governed a monastery. He is said to have been a disciple of Pulcherius of Liathmore, and it is added that he was but a small boy when this saint took him under his care. (229) He remained for many years at Liathmore, until being duly qualified for the purpose, and approved of by Pulcherius, he formed the above-mentioned establishment. Dagan is said to have, while still abbot, made some excursions out of Ireland, and to have visited Rome. (230) He was promoted to the episcopacy some time before the death of St. Molua, and probably about the year 600. (231) His see is called Achadh-Dagan, which seems to be only another name for Inverdaoile, or part of it. (232) He was an ardent supporter of the Irish practices as to the Paschal computation, &c. and his zeal was so great on these points, that, on occasion of his being in Britain and meeting with Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, and other Roman missionaries, he refused not only to eat in their company, but even under the same roof with them. (233) Notwithstanding his warmth in this respect he is represented as a man of a very mild disposition, (234) and was greatly esteemed for his sanctity, as appears from his having been consulted by St. Molua on an important affair, (235) and from what is said of his having wrought miracles. He died on the 13th of September in the year 640, (236) and was buried at Inverdaoile. As the opposition of this saint to the Roman Paschal cycle, &c. is the first fact we meet with relative to the great contest on these subjects between the Roman and Anglo-Roman clergy on one side, and the Irish on the other, it offers a favourable opportunity for investigating the origin and nature of those disputes.

(227) Harris (*Bishops at Glendaloch*) places his accession in 612. I do not know where he found this date. Colgan, who

treats of Molibba at 8 *Januar.* merely says, that he flourished about the beginning of the 7th century.

(228) See *Not.* 161. to *Chap. x.* Colgan and Harris, supposing that St. Coemhgen had been a bishop, make Molibba his immediate successor at Glendaloch, that is, according as Harris adds, six years before Coemhgen's death.

(229) Dagan's Acts at 12 *Mart.* from the Life of Pulcherius. If this be true, we may conclude that Dagan was not born before 565. For, as will be seen, the monastery of Liathmore did not exist until, at the earliest, about 576. Now supposing, which, however, there is nothing to prove, that Dagan was placed there soon after its commencement, and allowing him ten or twelve years of age at that time, his birth cannot be assigned to an earlier period than 565. On the other hand it cannot be placed much after 570; for he was a bishop before the death of Molua of Clonfertmaulua, who died, at the latest, in 609. (See *Chap. XII.* §. 7. and *ib.* *Not.* 100.) Colgan has most strangely confounded Dagan with one Dacan, who is said to have been with Petrocus in Cornwall, after he had left Ireland, as if he could have been contemporary with a man, who in all probability was dead before he was born. Petrocus had been the master of Dagan's uncle Coemgen when a child. (See *Chap. x.* §. 10). Are we then to suppose, that he lived to the time of Dagan's manhood, that is, until near the end of the sixth century. Harris (*Writers at Dagan*) has copied this mistake of Colgan.

(230) In one of the calendars he is called Dagan the traveller. As to his having been at Rome see *Not.* 94 to *Chap. XII.*

(231) Compare with *Not.* 229.

(232) *Achadh-Dagan* signifies the *field of Dagan*, alluding to the site of his church and monastery. There is nothing to prevent our supposing, that the old name *Inverdaoile* might have yielded to this new one, or that a part of the tract so called was, in consequence of that erection, thenceforth distinguished by the name of *Achadh-Dagan*. This would be a question of little moment, were it not that, in the hypothesis of these names belonging to two different places, it might be thought that Dagan of *Inverdaoile*, as he is usually called, was different from the bishop. His having been buried at *Inverdaoile* shows that this was his regular residence to the last. But, as the period, in which he flourished,

was exactly the same as that of bishop Dagan of Achadh-Dagan, (a name, by the bye, which I find only in the Life of St. Molua) and as only one Dagan is spoken of as distinguished in those times, the difference of the names *Inverdaoile* and *Achadh-Dagan* does not furnish a sufficient argument to introduce two Dagens instead of one. Having touched on those names I may be allowed to add, that Harris was wrong (*Monasteries*) in calling the place of Dagan's establishment *Inverdagan*. For this he had no authority except an error of the press in *AA. SS. p. 586*, where this name occurs instead of *Inverdaoile*, i. e. the mouth of a river called Daoile.

(233) See the letter of the bishops Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, written in 609, to the Irish clergy *ap. Bede, L. 2. c. 4.* Smith the editor of Bede says, (*Not. ad loc.*) that Dagan had been deputed from the monastery of Bangor in Ireland to confer with Laurence on the points then in dispute. As to Bangor he was mistaken; for Dagan had nothing to do with that monastery. Smith's mistake was, I dare say, founded on a Scotch story concerning Dagan having studied at Bangor, which it places in Scotland! Smith, knowing that there was no monastery of Bangor in Scotland, thought that Dagan might have belonged to the real one in Ireland. I suppose that it was some similar story, that induced Mr. Lingard (*Anglo Saxon Church, Chap. 1.*) to make him a Caledonian bishop. That Dagan was an Irish bishop is evident from the very letter of the Roman prelates. For this letter was written to the clergy of Ireland, and in it bishop Dagan is spoken of as one of them. Then it represents Dagan as "coming into this island" (Britain); "*Daganum episcopum in hanc insulam venientem.*" Accordingly he did not come from Caledonia or any part of Britain. With regard to Dagan's having gone to Britain for the purpose of conferring with Laurence, this is very probable and seems to be hinted at in the letter, where Dagan is said to *have come* to the Roman prelates; *Daganus episcopus ad nos veniens*, &c. This phrase conveys the idea of his having paid them a visit, whether to do so was his chief object in passing over to Britain, or, that happening to be there, he thought it right to call upon them. It will be asked, how could he have induced himself to visit persons, with whom he would not condescend to take food. To this I answer, that, if, as in all appearance was

the case, he did really visit those bishops, his refusing to eat or even stay in the same house with them could not have been in consequence of any predetermination to that effect, but of something that occurred after his paying the visit. The best manner to account for the matter is to admit, that in their conversation concerning the disputed points some hot words were uttered, and that Dagan felt himself so hurt that he refused to partake of their hospitality. To suppose that he was previously resolved to keep up no sort of communion with them is directly opposite to the fact of his visit, and would indicate a line of conduct very unbecoming a bishop. Surely he would not have prejudged them before he had heard their proposals and what they had to say in their defence. Whether Dagan after conferring or disputing with the Roman bishops became determined, besides shunning their society, not to communicate with them *in divinis*, is not sufficiently clear. If he did, he went further than he ought to have done, as whatever difference occurred between the parties regarded neither faith nor any essential article of ecclesiastical discipline. In a similar case St. Columbanus, firm as he was on these points, did not cease to hold communion with the Gallican clergy, notwithstanding his being constantly teased by them. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 4.*) Yet, even in the supposition that Dagan proceeded so far as a separation *in divinis*, this is to be understood not as if he considered them excommunicated in the full sense of the word, that is, as quite out of the church, but of that sort of partial separation, of which we have innumerable instances in ecclesiastical history, and according to which some particular bishops or churches declined communicating together, while at the same time both parties were in communion with the great body of the Catholic church. One of the penalties or censures used in the African church was, that in certain cases a bishop was suspended from communion with other bishops, still, however, retaining the government and communion of his own particular church. (See *Tillemont Mem, &c. Tom. xiv. p. 412.*) Had Dr. Ledwich understood those subjects, he would perhaps not have exhibited, (*Antiq. p. 369*), Dagan's proceeding as tantamount to real excommunication, nor have exemplified it by the uncharitable conduct of the Britons towards the Anglo-Saxons, a conduct founded not on religious principles but on their inveterate hatred of

that nation, and quite different from the feelings and behaviour of the Irish towards the same people.

(234) Marian Gorman calls him *Daganum praeplacidum de Inverdaoile*.

(235) See *Chap. XII. §. 7.*

(236) The 4 Masters in Dagan's Acts. Their 639 is our 640. The name of this saint is marked in the calendars at 12 *Mart.* to which day Colgan has affixed his Acts.

CHAP XV.

Diversity of practice with regard to the time of celebrating Easter or the Paschal festival—Some of the Eastern Churches observed it on the 14th day of the Hebrew lunar month Nisan—Others, particularly those of Rome and all the West, did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the 14th day—Irish Church always adhered in substance to the Western practice—Decrees of Councils against the Quartadecimans—Difference in the mode of determining the commencement of the first lunar or paschal month—the Western Church followed the old Jewish Cycle of 84 years, and those of Alexandria adopted the Cycle of 19 years—Hence arose a difference in the time of celebrating the festival between these Churches—Roman Church adhered to the old Cycle of 84 years until the middle of the 6th century, when they adopted the Cycle framed by Dionysius Exiguus, which agreed with the Alexandrine method—This method not received in France until the year 590—The Irish Church from its beginning used the Cycle of 84 years—The whole paschal system of the Irish, introduced by St. Patrick, continued in Ireland without any dispute until after the arrival of the Roman Missionaries in Britain—Passed from Ireland into

North Britain—Irish never received their paschal computation from Eastern missionaries—Synod of Old Leighlin, wherein the generality of the Irish clergy agreed to adopt the Roman mode of keeping Easter—Opposed by some others of the Irish, and by the people of Hy—St. Cummian's paschal Epistle to Segenius abbot of Hy—Cummian's great knowledge of Greek—Irish libraries well stocked with books—Cummian supposed to be the same as Cummin-fada—St. Laserian a supporter of the new paschal computation—St. Fintan of Munnu opposed Laserian on this subject—Fintan refused admittance into the community at Hy returns to Ireland, and erects the monastery of Teach-munnu, now Taghmon—Discussions in Legh-cuin on the paschal controversy—Thomisan Archbishop of Armagh and several of the Irish clergy write to Rome to Pope Severinus upon that subject—Roman clergy answer the Irish prelates, and warn them against the Pelagian Heresy—No Pelagian sect ever in Ireland—Mission of St. Aidan to Northumberland on the invitation of king Oswald—Oswald gives Aidan the Island of Lindisfarne, and acts as his interpreter—Several monasteries erected and several of the English converted by Aidan and his auxiliaries—Aidan's diocese extended into Scotland; he had also the care of the church of York, which he and his successors governed for 30 years—Character of St. Aidan—Finan succeeds Aidan in the see of Lindisfarne, and like him perseveres in the old Irish mode of observing Easter—Variety in the mode of keeping the paschal feast among some of the English—Finan baptizes Peada prince of the Middle Angles and all his suite—Peada obtained from Finan four learned priests for the instruction of his subjects—Diuna an Irishman consecrated bishop and placed over the Middle Angles and the kingdom of Mercia—Ceallach or Kellach an

Irishman succeeds Diurma, who died shortly after his consecration—Finan baptizes Sigebert king of the East Saxons, and also several of his friends and attendants—Finan, with the assistance of two other bishops, consecrates Ced, and appoints him bishop over the East Saxons—Death of Finan—Is succeeded in the see of Lindisfarne by Colman.

SECT. I.

FROM a very early period of the Christian church there was a diversity of practice with regard to the time of celebrating Easter or the Pasch. One general rule was universally admitted, viz. that it could not be celebrated before the fourteenth day of the first lunar month of the year, called in Hebrew *Nisan*, the month, in which our Saviour suffered on the cross and rose from the dead. Some churches, particularly those of Asia Minor, kept this festival as the Jews did their Pasch, on the fourteenth day itself, on whatever day of the week it happened to fall, alleging for their practice the authority of the apostles John and Philip, from whom they said it had been handed down to them. On the contrary, the far greater number of churches, such as those of Rome and all the West, together with the churches of Egypt, Palestine, Pontus, &c. &c. did not celebrate it until the Sunday following the 14th day, in consequence of our Saviour's resurrection having taken place on the first day of the week, now called Sunday. (1) This is not the place to enter into a narrative of what occurred, in consequence of this difference, between Pope Anicetus and Polycarp, or between Pope Victor and Polycrates of Ephesus, &c. As the Irish church was by no means in this quarrel, and always adhered, in substance, to the Western practice, I shall only remind the reader that the great council of Nice, to establish uniformity as to the

time of celebrating so great a festival, decreed that it should be kept by the whole church on one and the same day, and that this day should be the Sunday next after the 14th day of the first lunar month. It was also resolved that it should not be celebrated before the vernal equinox, lest the church might seem to agree with the Jews, whose Pasch in some years fell before that point. For, according to the cycle used by them in arranging their lunar years, the first month sometimes began as early as the 5th of March, so that in such a case they held their Pasch on the 18th of said month, and consequently prior to the equinox, which was affixed to the 21st, either by the council, as some have said, or, at least, by very ancient custom, followed as far back as the fourth century by the Greeks and Orientals, but not so early by the Latins. The decrees of the council were submitted to by the churches of Asia minor, some of which had given up their former practice even before the council was held, and by whatsoever other churches, that had followed the Jewish computation of the Paschal festivity. Yet some troublesome individuals appeared here and there in the East, who retained the condemned system, and many of whom belonged to heretical associations of one kind or another. Against these obstinate persons, designated by the name of *Quartadecimans*, several decrees of councils were issued, and some severe Imperial laws enacted. For, in consequence of their resisting the authority of the council of Nice and of several other synods, they were henceforth considered as heretics, schismatics, and disturbers of the public tranquillity, whereby they were looked upon in a very different light from those who had, without any schismatical intention, followed the same practice previous to its being condemned by the Church.

(1) I do not know how to account for the practice of the Asiatics (of Asia Minor,) if their object was to commemorate the resurrection. I cannot but think, that the Easter or Pasch, which they observed, was meant, at least originally, as a commemoration of the last supper, or the Paschal one, which our Saviour had with his disciples on the evening or rather night immediately previous to his crucifixion. As this supper took place on the night of the 14th day of the moon, according to the more general method of reckoning the days, or, according to the Jewish mode, on the night commencing the 15th, the Asiatics, after fasting on the fourteenth in the day time, were accustomed to celebrate the Pasch immediately after, and to cease from fasting, while the rule observed in other churches was to continue the fast until the Sunday following, their object being that of commemorating the resurrection. Usher has touched upon these subjects with great learning in his *Dissertat. de Ignatii martyris epistolis*, &c. cap. 9. where he distinguishes the Pasch of the *passion* from that of the *resurrection*, the former, he says having been that of the Asiatics, and the latter that of the Romans, &c. I wish, however, he had been somewhat more explicit on this intricate question. The definition of the two Paschs, given by Bingham, (*Book xx. ch. v. sect. 1.*) does not agree with the statement of Usher, who understands by them not two distinct weeks, but distinct days. It may be asked whether those, who held that Easter should not be celebrated except on a Sunday, considered the 14th of the moon, in case of its falling on Sunday, as a fit day for the purpose. Some of them certainly did; among others Anatolius of Laodicea, as appears from his Paschal cycle. And, as far as I can judge, the same rule is marked in the Paschal canon of Hyppolytus Portuensis, which was anciently observed for some time at Rome. (See Norris, *De Paschali Latinorum cyclo*.) But these Paschal calculations were drawn up before the holding of the council of Nice, after which new methods and computations were introduced.

§. II. It might seem that, matters having been so wisely arranged by the council of Nice, there could be no further questions agitated in the Church as to the true time of celebrating the Christian

pasch. But a very great difficulty arose in consequence of a disagreement as to the mode of determining the commencement of the first lunar or the paschal month. The primitive Christians had adopted for this purpose, the Jewish cycle of 84 years, which was followed in very many churches until the time of the council of Nice, soon after which the church of Alexandria substituted in its stead the cycle of 19 years, not according to the method of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, its first inventor in the year 276, but as reformed by Eusebius of Caesarea. (2) This church was entrusted with the calculation of Easter time, (3) of which it was bound to give due notice to the Pope, to be by him announced to all the churches of Christendom. (4) It would have been well if the Romans had placed full confidence in the Alexandrine calculations; but some how or other it happened, that they retained or returned to the use of the old cycle of 84 years, which was accordingly received generally throughout the Western church. Now this cycle was incorrect, inasmuch as it supposed each lunation to be shorter by two minutes and some seconds than it really is; and hence it followed that in the time of St. Cyril of Alexandria there was a difference of two days between the Roman and Alexandrine reckonings of the days of the moon, the former calling, for instance, the *third* that, which the latter very properly called the *first*. (5) Another very important difference consisted in this, that in calculating the days of the solar months, to which the first day or New moon of the Paschal lunation should be affixed, the Latins began with the 5th of March and ended with the 2d of April; whereas the Alexandrians would not allow any new moon, prior to the eighth of March, to be considered as belonging to the Paschal moon, while they extended the latest new moon, fit for that purpose, down to the 5th of April. Hence it followed that the 14th day,

which served for fixing Easter Sunday, might fall, with the Latins, on the 18th of March and should be no later than the 15th of April; while, according to the Alexandrine method, it could not be earlier than the 21st of March, and might be as late as the 18th of April. To these differences was added another, the Latins not allowing Easter Sunday earlier than the 16th day of the moon, whereas the Alexandrians were content with the 15th. Thus, if the 14th of the moon fell on a Saturday, the latter celebrated Easter on the following day, and the former put it off until the Sunday sennight. Connecting together the Latin rules, it might seem that, according to them, Easter Sunday could have fallen on a 20th of March; but it appears, that the earliest day allowed by them for it was the 21st. Yet even with this precaution they differed again from the Alexandrines, who marked the 22d as the earliest for that purpose, in consequence of their affixing the equinox to the 21st and their adhering to the rule that Easter should not be celebrated until after it. But afterwards, coming to admit the 21st as the equinoctial day, the Latins received likewise the rule as to the non-celebration of Easter before the 22d; still, however, differing in another point, *viz.* that they would not allow any Easter Sunday later than the 21st of April, although according to the Alexandrians it might be as late as the 25th of said month.

(2) See Smith's excellent dissertation on the Paschal controversies, *Appendix to Bede's Works*, No. 9. He shows that this cycle was not, as some have said, drawn up by the council itself.

(3) Many learned men have attributed to the council the commission with which the church of Alexandria was charged to this effect. Whether or no, that church was invested with it about that time with the general consent and approbation of the Christian world. See Smith, *ib.*

(4) Prideaux (*Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part II. Book 4.*) says on this subject ; " The Alexandrians being then of all others the most skilled in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation was referred to the bishop of that place ; and they, having applied the nineteen years cycle in a much better method to this purpose than Anatolius had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter ; and accordingly went by it for the discharge of what was referred to them by the council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the bishop of that church to write of it to the bishop of Rome, who, having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his deacons to be published in his patriarchal church on the day of Epiphany preceding the festival, and then by paschal epistles notified it to all the metropolitans through the whole Christian world, and they by like epistles to their suffragans ; and by this means the day was every where known, and every where observed in an exact uniformity of time by Christians all the world over." Prideaux is not correct in placing the paschal epistles of the Pope after the Epiphany ; for this was the day, on which the time of Easter used to be announced in all churches ; and consequently it was necessary to write said epistles previous to it. The notification of Paschal time used, as Smith justly remarks, to be made by the Pope even before the council of Nice. This is clear from the first canon of the council of Arles held in 314.

(5) See Usher, p. 927.

§. III. Considering this diversity of principles and rules, it 'is not to be wondered at, that serious questions occurred now and then concerning the time proper for the Paschal solemnity. In the year 387 it was celebrated at Rome on the 18th of April, and at Alexandria on the 25th, on which day it was kept also by St. Ambrose in his church of Milan, as he preferred the Alexandrine computation to that of the Romans (6) In 417 Easter day fell at Rome on the 25th of March, and at Alexandria on the 22d of April. Without searching for further instances,

two important discussions occurred during the pontificate of Leo the great, one relative to the Paschal time of the year 444, and the other to that of 455. As to the former, the Roman calculation differed, by nearly a month, from the Alexandrine. The Pope, having consulted, on this occasion, Cyril of Alexandria and Paschasius bishop of Lilybacum in Sicily, was induced by them to order the celebration of Easter on the 23d of April, the day marked by the Alexandrines. The second discussion was not so easily brought to a close, yet, for the sake of peace, Leo, although not fully convinced by the arguments of Proterius bishop of Alexandria, joined him in affixing the festival for that year to the 24th of April. To obviate these inconveniencies it was deemed advisable to form a new Paschal cycle. That of 84 years continued at Rome down to, at least, 457, (7) when there appeared that of 532 years drawn up by Victorius of Aquitaine, concerning which let it suffice to observe, that, although it brought matters nearer to the Alexandrine computations than the other, yet it differed from them in several respects so as to leave room for further disputes. (8) Nor was there a final stop put to this controversy between the Romans and Alexandrians until about the middle of the sixth century, when the former adopted the cycle framed by Dionysius Exiguus about 525, and which agreed with the Alexandrine method and rules. Yet this cycle was not received in several parts of the Western church as early as at Rome. A difference concerning the Paschal time existed in France down to not only the year 590, (9) but to a later period, owing to the cycle of Victorius being still followed in some churches.

(6) See Smith, *Dissertat.*, &c.

(7) Norris has proved (*De Paschali Latinorum cyclo*) that the cycle of 84 years, and no other, was followed at Rome before

and during the time of St. Leo, and, at least, until towards the end of his pontificate.

(8) See Smith, *loc. cit.*

(9) *Ib.*

§. IV. The churches of Britain had originally followed the Roman practices, in every respect, as to the celebration of Easter. (10) Their cycle was of 84 years, to which they adhered, until after the arrival of Augustin and the other Roman missionaries, nor did they ever meddle with the Quartadeciman controversy, or with the differences, that took place afterwards between the Roman and Alexandrine computations. Even at the time of their disputes with the Romans and Anglo-Romans their Paschal system was substantially the same as that, which the Romans themselves had observed until their adoption of the cycle and rules of Dionysius Exiguus, with scarcely any exception but one, viz. that, for a reason which shall be soon explained, at this period they considered the 14th day of the first lunar month, if a Sunday, as fit for the celebration of Easter, while according to the old Roman method, it was necessary to wait for the 16th. (11) What discussions occurred between the British and Roman clergy on this or other points, it is not my business to inquire into, (12) and I shall now endeavour to show how matters stood in Ireland. The Irish church had from its very first regular formation made use of a cycle of 84 years, (13) and its Paschal computation seems to have been exactly the same as that followed by the British church when Augustin arrived in Britain. It was quite different from the Alexandrine method, (14) and nearly agreed with the old one of the Romans, that is, the one followed by them before they fixed the 22d of March as the earliest day, on which Easter could be celebrated. (15) Another point, in which the Irish agreed with the Romans before the latter had received the Alexandrine rules, was their not allowing Easter time to be as late in the year as

was allowed by the Alexandrians. (16) There is no doubt, that their whole Paschal system was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick. (17) Yet he was not the author of it. Our Apostle merely delivered it to the Irish church, according as he had found it followed in some parts of Gaul. For it must be observed, that it was exactly the same as that, which was observed at Rome in his time, there being this very important difference between the two methods, that, while in the Irish system Easter could be celebrated on the 14th of the moon, if falling on a Sunday, the Romans, in St. Patrick's days, did not allow its celebration until the 16th. (18).

(10) Smith writes; "Notandum est illos vehementer errare, qui putant Britannos nona Romanis et Occidentalibus, sed ab Orientalibus ritum Paschatis edoctos. Diserte enim testatur Constantinus (magnus) in epistola, quam de hac re scripsit, eodem modo, ac Romae, in Britannia Pascha celebrari solitum."

(11) See Usher, p. 929 and 933. Bingham, accounting for the Paschal controversy between the Britons and Romans (*Book xx. chap. v. sect. 4.*) attributes it to the adhesion of the former to the old Roman canon.

(12) I cannot pass over an abominable calumny of some writers, among whom Ledwich, (*Antiq. &c. p. 412.*) against Augustin, archbishop of Canterbury. They say, that he excited Ethelbert, king of Kent, to slaughter the British bishops on account of their not submitting to the Roman practices. Nothing can be more false. Ledwich quotes a passage from Usher, (*De Libert. Eccl. Britann.*) in which indeed he states, but without any foundation, that Augustin excited Ethelbert against those bishops. Yet Usher has not a word about slaughter, either in the quoted passage or in what follows; nor were any bishops slaughtered by Ethelbert, or during the life time of Augustin. The whole matter is most clearly exhibited by Bede, (*L. 2. c. 2.*) who has been copied by Henry of Huntington (*L. 3.*). Augustin had, with the assistance and influence of Ethelbert, *adjutorio usus Aedilbereti regis*, procured two conferences about A.D. 603 with some British bishops and doctors, at the second of which several

monks of their famous monastery of Bancor (near Chester) attended. After much debating Augustin reduced the terms, on which they and the Romans might live in ecclesiastical fraternity and peace, to three points; 1. that they would receive the paschal computation of the Romans; 2. that they would administer baptism according to the rite used at Rome; and 3. that they would cooperate with himself and his brethren in preaching the word of God to the English. They refused to agree to any one of these proposals, even to the third, in not complying with which they were certainly inexcusable in the sight of God, and added that they would not acknowledge him as their archbishop, thinking that he was a haughty prelate, because, on their coming to the conference, he did not stand up to salute them. Augustin, finding them so obstinate, is said to have announced to them, that, whereas they would not keep peace with their fellow Christians, they would get war from their enemies, and that, as they were unwilling to preach the way of life to the English, they would be punished by that nation with death. And so, says Bede, it came to pass; for, several years after Augustin had been removed from this world, Aedilfrid king of Northumberland, who was a pagan, (see Bede, *L. 1. c. 34.*) invaded the country near Chester with a great army. Together with the Britons, who marched out to oppose him, there was a great number of the British clergy and particularly of the monks of Bancor, who, when the battle was about to begin, stood apart from the scene of action praying for the success of their countrymen, and protected by a detachment under the command of one Brocmail. Aedilfrid, on being informed what they were employed in, said; "Whereas these men are crying out to their God against us, they, although unarmed, are in reality fighting against us;" and immediately ordered the first attack to be made upon them. Brocmail and his men instantly fled, leaving the clergy and monks to be slaughtered by the Northumbrians, while the battle was raging elsewhere. It is said, that about twelve hundred of those unarmed persons, who had assembled merely to pray, were killed in this massacre. It took place in the year 613 (*Usher, Ind. Chron.*) about eight years after the death of Augustin in 605. (See Smith, *Not. to Bede L. 2. c. 3.*) This is the dreadful slaughter alluded to by certain calumniators. Now who does not see that

neither Augustin, nor Ethelbert, nor any Christian whatsoever contributed to it in the least ; and that it was totally unconnected with either the Paschal or any other question of ecclesiastical discipline ? We may here remark, by the bye, that it evidently appears from what occurred in the above mentioned conferences, that there was not the slightest difference in points of faith or doctrine between the Romans and Britons ; for, had there been any, Augustin would not have requested the British clergy to join him in preaching to the Anglo-Saxons, upon the mere condition of their observing the Roman Easter and rites of baptism, matters purely of changeable discipline, and concerning which there exists in the Catholic church at this very day a diversity of practice, without its implying the least breach of Christian communion. As to the refusal of the Britons to submit to Augustin as archbishop, it is to be observed, that they had already an archbishop of their own, the bishop of Caerlegion on Usk (near where this river falls into the Severn) ; and surely it was not the intention of Augustin to compel them to receive himself as their metropolitan, unless all their bishops would consent to this change of jurisdiction. Nor does it appear that Augustin insisted upon it, although he had been invested by Pope Gregory with a legatine jurisdiction over them. (See Bede, *L. 1. c. 27.*) There have been many oppositions to the exercise of legatine powers even in very late times without their being considered as amounting to the guilt of schism. When the abbot of Bancor in his letter to Augustin (*ap. Spellman and Wilkins, Concil. &c. and Smith's Appendix No. 10.*) declined acknowledging his jurisdiction, he declared, however, his obedience to the church, and to the Pope, and to every one according to his just rank, observing at the same time, that he was under the immediate government of the bishop of Caerlegion. This bishop was considered by the Britons as possessed of a sort of patriarchal power, similar, for instance, to that of the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria, a power recognized by the see of Rome, and in no manner clashing with the supremacy annexed to said see. Away then with the quibbles and unfounded allegations of certain writers, who talk of a difference of doctrines between the Britons and Romans, and of the former not having been in communion with the latter, nor

acknowledging any supremacy of the see of Rome at the period of Augustin's arrival in England.

(13) Usher, *p.* 929.

(14) See Cummián's Paschal epistle.

(15) Cummián says that among other differences between the Irish computation and the others there was one relative to the equinox. This must have consisted in their not affixing it to the 21st of March, and consequently not waiting for the 22d as the day, before which the celebration of Easter should not be allowed. Now the older Latins followed the same rule; (see above §. 2.) and we find an Easter Sunday observed in Spain on the 21st of said month as late as the year 577. (Smith *loc. cit.*)

(16) We have seen (§. 2.) that the Alexandrians celebrated Easter as late as the 25th of April at a period when the Romans did not allow it to be subsequent to the 21st. Bede observes (*L. v. c. 22.*) that the monks of Hy, after they had received the Alexandrine or new Roman computation kept Easter Sunday, in the year 729, on the 24th of April, and that this was the first time that they celebrated it on the corresponding day of that month. Hence it is plain, that the Irish had a rule, according to which Easter could not be as late as the 24th; for, otherwise, it would happen more than once to fall on that day.

(17) Cummián represents it as different from the cycle, which, he says, St. Patrick formed and brought to Ireland. Of this he gives no proof; and, as Usher observes, (*p.* 930) it is clear from the catalogue of Irish saints, that during the times of the two first classes there was only one Paschal computation known in Ireland, viz. the very one, which Cummián disapproved of, and which allowed the 14th day of the first lunar month, if falling on a Sunday, to be fit for the celebration of Easter. It was not until the time of the third class that, as expressly stated in said document, questions began in Ireland about the incorrectness of that cycle, or concerning the propriety of altering it. Nor is there any foundation for supposing that St. Patrick drew up one differing from it; whereas, if he had, the Irish would have followed his and no other.

(18) In the year 414 there was a question at Rome concerning the Easter time for that year, in consequence of the strict adhesion to the rule of not celebrating it until the 16th of the moon.

(See Smith, *ib.*) This was 18 years prior to St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland. Several writers have laid down, that the Irish computation was in all respects the same as that, which the Romans themselves practised in the time of St. Patrick. I cannot express their ideas on this subject better than in the words of Prideaux, (*Connection, &c. Part II. Book 4.*) who writes: "Till the Saxons came into this island (which was A. D. 449) the British churches having always communicated with the Roman, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the Roman empire, they agreed with it in the use of the same rule for the fixing of the time of their Easter; and the Irish, who had not long before been converted by St. Patrick, who was sent to them from Rome, followed the same usage. But afterwards, when the Saxons having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island had thereby cut off all communication with Rome, all that correspondence, which till then the British and Irish churches had held with the Roman, thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of Austin the monk to convert the English Saxons, which was about 150 years after. And therefore neither the British nor the Irish knowing any thing of the reformation, that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning Easter, either by Victorius or Dionysius, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the 84 years cycle, which they had received from the Romans before the Saxons came into this land. And in this usage Austin found them on his arrival hither; and they, having been long accustomed to it, could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the Romanists, which Austin then proposed to them. And hence arose that controversy about Easter, which, &c." It was thus also that Bingham (see *Not. 11.*) and many others each understood the origin and nature of this controversy; but, though otherwise nearly exact, they were not aware of the true cause of the difference as to the 14th and 16th days of the moon.

§ v. To understand the origin of this difference, it must be recollected that, owing to the incorrectness of the cycle of 84 years followed at Rome, a

palpable mistake, which could be discovered merely by eyesight, had crept into the Roman mode of reckoning the days of the moon. In the early part of the fifth century it had come to such a pitch, that what was really only the first day, was called at Rome the third, (19) and what was only the 14th was called the 16th. Sulpitius Severus, who lived at this period, having undertaken a revision of the cycle of 84 years, and observing that the day called the 16th, on which, according to the Roman method Easter could be celebrated, was, correctly speaking, the 14th, thought it absurd to go on calling it the 16th. According he gave it the name of 14th, and laid down as a rule, that, as it was in reality the same day as the 16th of the former edition of the cycle, Easter Sunday might fall on the 14th, but not earlier. (20) St. Patrick, who was undoubtedly acquainted with Sulpitius Severus, and followed the Gallican practices, such as were observed at Tours, Auxerre, &c. brought this reformed cycle, and its rules, to Ireland, where it was observed without any dispute until after the arrival of the Roman missionaries in Britain. From Ireland it passed into the parts of North Britain possessed by the Scots and Picts, in consequence of its having been adhered to by Columbkil and his disciples. The Britons also adopted it, not indeed as, strictly speaking, a new cycle different from the old Roman, which they had followed from the beginning, (21) but as a more correct and rational edition of it. The Romans, on finding the 14th day of the moon considered by the Britons and Irish as a fit day for celebrating Easter, thought that their system smelt of the heresy of the Quartadecimans, (22) not reflecting that they never kept the festival on the 14th, unless it were a Sunday, (23) and that their admitting the 14th into their Paschal canon was owing to an error of the Romans themselves. For, had they not been in the habit of

calling by the name of the 16th, that, which was really only the 14th, the first Paschal day of the Irish canon would have been called the 16th. They would have also recollected, that it was but a short time before their arrival in Britain that the Alexandrine system was received at Rome, instead of the former computation, which was, at least, as different from the Alexandrine, as that of the Britons, and Irish. (24) From all that has been now said it is clear, that there is not the least foundation for the hypothesis of those, who pretend, that the Irish received their Paschal computation from Eastern missionaries. And indeed, had such been the case, it would have been very different from what it really was. (25).

(19) See above §. 2.

(20) Usher, *p.* 933. *seqq.*)

(21) In the time of Constantine the great there was no difference whatsoever between the Roman and British computations. (See above *Not.* 10.) That relative to the question concerning the 14th and 16th days was introduced many years after.

(22) The charge of heresy is brought, in the letter of the clergy of Rome (A. D. 640) against such of the Irish as still adhered to the former computation. In it we read; "Reperimus quosdam provinciae vestrae, contra orthodoxam fidem, novam ex veteri haeresim renovare conantes, Pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus, nebulosa caligine refutantes, et quartadecima luna cum Hebraeis celebrare nitentes." (See Bede, *L.* 2. *c.* 19.)

(23) This is acknowledged by Wilfrid in his conference with Colman; (*ap.* Bede, *L.* 3. *c.* 25) and Bede himself attests it more than once. Thus he observes, (*L.* 3. *c.* 4) that it is a mistake to charge them with always celebrating Easter on the 14th of the moon, as the Jews did; whereas they never kept it except on a Sunday, although, he adds, they had not learned the method of discovering which was the true Paschal Sunday.

(24) The abettors of the new Roman method looked upon as an important error the affixing of the earliest Easter Sunday to any day of the first moon except the 15th. Now we have seen (§. 2.) that, until the adoption of the Dionysian or Alexandrine rules

that day was objected to at Rome, and that it was thought necessary to wait for the 16th. If then it was such a mighty error to assign any day different from the 15th the Romans had been as much mistaken as the Irish, with this only difference, that, while the latter began one day earlier than the 15th, the former began a day later. It is curious to observe with what confidence Wilfrid asserts, (*ap. Bede, L. 3. c. 25.*) that St. Peter, being at Rome, established the rule of beginning with the 15th; as if the Paschal computation observed there in Wilfrid's time were that which the Romans had followed from the commencement of their church. Colman was, unluckily for his cause, equally ignorant of the old Roman system, and, instead of showing the falshood of Wilfrid's assertion, appealed to the authority of St. John the Evangelist, who, he said, had celebrated Easter on the 14th. On this point Wilfrid had greatly the advantage of Colman, and pressed him with an argument, which he was not able to answer. Yes, said Wilfrid, St. John observed the Pasch on that day, according to the injunction of the Mosaic law, not caring about the day of the week; but your system is different from his, whereas you never celebrate it except on a Sunday.

(25) Spotiswood derived the Scottish Easter from some disciples of St. John the Evangelist; (See *Chap. 1. §. 5.*) Sir G. Mackenzie from the Grecian church. (See O'Flaherty's refutation in *Ogygia vindicated, ch. 17.*) This nonsense having been overturned by Usher, Prideaux, Bingham, Smith, &c. it was reserved chiefly for Ledwich to revive it. This mighty Doctor, who cannot bear any sort of communication with Rome, tells us (*Antiq. p. 358, seqq.*) that it was brought to Ireland by Asiatics; and why? Because Colman said that it had been observed by St. John, (See *Not. præc.*) and because it agreed with the Asiatic system. But Colman, however mistaken on this point, did not say, that St. John or any of his disciples introduced it into Ireland; nor did it ever come into his head or into that of any Irishman of those times, that the first preachers of the Gospel in this country were Asiatics. If the Irish had been converted by missionaries from the East, how came it to pass, that the liturgy and every part of the church service were celebrated in Latin? Had those missionaries been Greeks, or from countries where Greek was generally spoken, the ecclesiastical language of Ireland might have been Greek; or if they

had come from places still more to the East, it might have been Syriac. But there was no reason whatsoever why it should be Latin; for Ireland was not a province of the Roman empire, and Latin was as little known by the Irish as Greek, Syriac, or any other foreign tongue. The Doctor urges, that their Paschal computation agreed with that of the Asiatics, thus giving us a sample of his profound ignorance of the whole question. By *Asiatics* he seems to have meant those of Asia minor, who followed the Quartadeciman practice, previous to the Council of Nice. Now, in the first place, this practice was essentially different from that of the Irish, who always celebrated Easter on a Sunday. Ledwich identifies it (*p.* 360) with the British system, not knowing that, even before the council, the Britons, so far from agreeing with those *Asiatics*, had no other Paschal computation than the Roman one. (See *f.* 4. and *Not.* 21.) To see more of his ignorance, it is to be observed; that, in his hypothesis, there must have been a regular Christian church existing in Ireland before the time of the council, and as far back as the third century; for his favourite *Asiatics* immediately renounced their Quartadeciman system on the promulgation of the decree of the council. What immortal honour would our hero acquire were he able to prove that there was a settled Christian establishment in Ireland at that early period, and that it calculated Easter time in a manner different from that of the whole Western church? But it will be said, he does not distinguish it from the method of *all* the West; whereas he states, that it was the same as that of Britain. Aye; but this excuse will serve only to show that the poor Doctor contradicts himself, although unwittingly, through lack of knowledge. Great as he thinks himself, he did not know, that in those times there was no difference between the British and Roman computations; so that if the Irish one was the same as the British, it must have been also the same as the Roman, and consequently quite the reverse of the Asiatic. Perhaps he meant to insinuate, that we received Christianity from some of those outcast Quartadeciman heretics, who rambled about the world after the council was held. It may be that he would rather this had been the case than allow, that we had any thing to do with the Romans. But here likewise comes a stumbling block in his way, whereas the great maxim of these Quartadecimans was that the Paschal should be always celebrated on the 14th of the

moon, whatever day of the week it might fall upon. If in his loose and desultory sentences concerning Asiatics and Greeks the Doctor alluded to Catholic missionaries, as having come to Ireland from the Eastern countries some time after the council of Nice, he might have easily learned, that they would have brought with them the Alexandrine computation, it being at that period and thenceforth universally received in all the Catholic churches of those countries. The truth is, that, in whatever manner the question be considered, it is evident that the Irish Paschal system was of Western origin. This has been so ably proved and learnedly illustrated by Usher, that every writer of any reputation, who since his time has touched on the subject, agrees with him on this point. Even the Doctor would agree, were it not for his inveterate hatred of the Romans. I know that, many years ago, after he had published the first edition of his book, he was told in a friendly manner that Usher had completely settled this controversy. The Doctor said, that he had not met with Usher's explanation of it. A strange answer, indeed! For Usher has left us full sixteen pages concerning it in the *Primordia*. But, if he had not, by that time, seen it in Usher, he ought to have looked for it before he undertook his second edition, and I dare say he did. Yet in this edition (*p. 55. seqq.*) the same stuff about Asiatics, and their having brought to Ireland their Paschal method, is found exactly as in the first, without the least notice of what Usher had written. Hence it may be judged by what spirit the Doctor was moved, when treating of this and other parts of our ecclesiastical antiquities.

§. VI. After the letter of Laurence and the other Roman prelates (26) became generally known, in Ireland, inquiries began to be made which was the right method of calculating the time of Easter. Some few were, it seems, willing to adopt the new Roman one, while others thought it sufficient to make a correction in the Irish system by affixing the earliest Paschal Sunday to the 16th of the moon, according to the old Roman practice, instead of the 14th. (27) But the bulk of the clergy and nation were attached to the old computation until the year

630, when, in consequence of an admonitory, letter from the Pope Honorius I. (28) a synod was held at or near Old Leighlin, (29) which was attended by a great number of persons, and among others, by the heads of several of the greatest religious establishments in the Southern parts of Ireland. (30) St. Laserian, abbot of old Leighlin, spoke in favour of the Roman system, and was strenuously opposed by St. Fintan Munnu of Taghmon. (31) The heads of the old establishments (32) declared, that they had been directed by their predecessors to follow the practices of the successors of the Apostles, (33) and accordingly proposed that Easter should for the future be celebrated at the same time with the universal Church. This was agreed to and the matter appeared to be quite settled, when not long after a troublesome person (34) started up, and by his intrigues rendered abortive part of what had been decreed. To put an end to this opposition, it was resolved by the Elders, that whereas, according to a Synodical canon, every important ecclesiastical question should be referred to the head of cities, (35) some wise and humble persons should be sent to Rome, as children to their mother. These deputies being arrived there saw with their own eyes Easter celebrated at one and the same time by people from various countries, and, having returned to Ireland in the third year from their departure, solemnly declared to those, who had deputed them, that the Roman method was that of the whole world. It is added, that several miracles were wrought in Ireland through the reliques of martyrs, which these persons had brought from Rome. (36) Henceforth, that is, from about the year 633, the new Roman cycle and rules were received in the Southern division of Ireland, comprizing not only Munster, but likewise the greatest part of Leinster and a portion of Connaught. (37)

(26) See *Not.* 233 to *Chap.* xiv.

(27) In the account of the third class of saints it is stated, that, while some of them celebrated Easter on the 14th, according to the old Irish rule, others held it on the sixteenth. And we find that in some churches (Usher says Gallican, *p.* 932) this was considered as the earliest Paschal day down to, at least, A. D. 710. The abbot Ceolfrid, in his letter to Naitan king of the Picts (*ap.* Bed. *L.* 5. *c.* 21.) written in this year, inveighs against the rule of the 16th and represents it equally bad with the 14th. It had been, however, long observed at Rome, and was marked in the Paschal canon of Victorius. Thence it was seen by some of the Irish clergy, merely, I suppose, for the purpose of warding off the great objection of the Romans, *viz.* that in some years they celebrated Easter at the same time with the Jews.

(28) See Bede *L.* 2. *c.* 19. Usher assigns this letter to A. D. 629.

(29) Cumman (*Paschal Ep.*) has in *Campo-Lene*, the field Lene. Others have, in the *White field*, which was near Mount Marge, and not far from the Barrow. It was adjacent to St. Lasarian's monastery of Leighlenn, now called Old Leighlin. (See Usher, *p.* 936.)

(30) Cumman says, that the successors of bishop Ailbe (of Emly), Queran (Kieran of Clonmacnois), Brendin (Brendan of Birr), Nessian (of Mungret), and Lugidus (Molua of Clonfert-molua) were present either in person or by their deputies. Usher states, that the archbishop of Emly was president of the synod.

(31) Usher *p.* 936. *seqq.* from the Life of Fintan.

(32) See *Not.* 30.

(33) Cumman represents them as saying; "Decessores nostri mandaverunt per idoneos testes, alios viventes, alios in pace dormientes, ut meliora et potiora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientiae et successoribus Apostolorum Domini delata sine scrupulo humiliter sumeremus."

(34) Cumman calls him a *white-washed wall*. It is not known who he was. It cannot be supposed that he was Fintan Munnu; for, his sanctity was so universally acknowledged, that Cumman would not have ventured to speak of him in that disrespectful manner, or to use some other severe expressions, which he has against that disturber of the peace.

(35) Cumman's words are ; " Ut si causae fuerint maiores, juxta decretum Synodicum ad caput urbium sint referendae." One of the canons ascribed to St. Patrick runs thus in Ware's edition ; (*Opusc.*, &c. p. 41.) " Si quae quaestiones in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur." In Dachery's edition *quae* is omitted. The meaning of this canon is more clearly expressed, as quoted by Usher, (*Discourse on the religion, &c. chap. 8.*) the substance of which is as follows ; " If a difficult cause may occur, which cannot be easily decided by the Irish prelates and the see of Armagh, it shall be sent to the Apostolic see, that is, to the chair of the apostle St. Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." This canon, which Usher copied from an old book of the church of Armagh, is attributed to a synod of Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus, and is on the whole in these words ; " Quaecunque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judiciis, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium (idest, Patricii) atque hujus antistitis examinationem recte referenda. Si vero in illa, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa praedictae negotiationis, ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri apostoli cathedram, auctoritatem Romae urbis habentem. Hi sunt, qui de hoc decreverunt, id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus." Ware adds, (*loc. cit.* p. 128.) that it was headed, "*De alienis provinciis adeundis ad judicandum in causis difficilioribus.*" I suspect that this canon, as now quoted, is not quite as ancient as St. Patrick's times, and that it is a paraphrastic explanation of the original short one of St. Patrick, &c. yet conveying its true meaning. It seems to allude to Scottish churches out of Ireland, which also should have recourse to the see of Armagh. Now there were no such churches in St. Patrick's days. These canons prove, besides the primacy of Armagh, that the Irish church did from the beginning acknowledge the supremacy of the see of Rome. Otherwise would it have referred its difficult questions to a see so distant from Ireland, while at that period there were several eminent churches much nearer to us, such as those of Tours, Toledo, &c. unless a peculiar prerogative were believed to belong to the chair of St. Peter.

(36) I have here followed Cumman's narrative as closely as I could. He was himself one of those, who had deputed these

messengers, received their report, and saw the miracles, &c. As to the arrangement of the transactions, including the synod of *Campus Lene*, I have, for the sake of perspicuity, followed that of Usher. Yet Colgan, who also had followed it, (*AA. SS. p. 53*) offers elsewhere (*p. 409*) some arguments to show, that it is not correct. He observes, that Usher was wrong in confounding Maghlene (*Campus Lene*) with the White field, the former having been in the territory of Fearcall (in the now King's county) and the latter in Lethglin, the district in which Old Leighlin (county Carlow) is situated. Accordingly he distinguishes two synods, one at Maghlene, and the other at White-field. His statement comes to these points. 1. There was a synod held at Maghlene, viz. that spoken of by Cumman. 2. Subsequently to it, the deputies were sent to Rome. One of them was, he thinks, Laserian, who, in his Life, is said to have gone to Rome together with several other persons, and to have been there consecrated bishop. 3. Laserian had returned from Rome before the holding of the synod of White-field, it being, says Colgan, so stated in the account of that synod given in the Life of Fintan Munu, where we read; "*Lasreanus enim abbas monasterii Leithglinne, cui suberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat, qui nuper de Roma venit.*" Colgan connects the *qui*, &c. with *Lasreanus*, as if the author meant to say, that he had come lately from Rome. But the context seems in some part to indicate, that *qui* is to be joined with *novum ordinem*, and that the author's meaning was, that the new order or computation had lately come, or been brought, from Rome. If Colgan's interpretation be right, it may be supposed, that Laserian was the bearer of the letter of Pope Honorius, and that on this account we find him called the Pope's legate, or messenger, a title, which has been afterwards misunderstood as indicating that Laserian was appointed Apostolic legate for Ireland. 4. After the return of the deputies from Rome was held the synod of White-field, described in Fintan's Life, and in which Laserian and Fintan Munu acted the distinguished part, which we have seen. Here a weighty difficulty occurs from the silence of Cumman concerning any synod being held after the return of the deputies. Yet it may be answered, that his mentioning the report delivered by them to those, who had sent them, pre-supposes a synod. And it is to be remarked, that Cumman says nothing

about any contest at the synod of Maghlene, nor makes any mention of Laserian or Fintan. On the whole, Colgan's statement appears very consistent; and if Maghlene was, as he asserts, a place different from White-field, we must admit that two synods were held, one about three years before the other. But how is the chronology of these transactions to be determined? Usher calculated that the synod of Maghlene, which he considered the same as that of White-field, or Old Leighlin, was held in 630, because he thought the enormous difference of about a month between the Paschal computations for the year 631, occurred in the year next after that of the synod. It is known that, according to the Irish method, Easter should have been celebrated in 631 on the 21st of April, while at Rome it fell on the 24th of March. Cummián makes mention of this difference, where he says, as understood by Usher, that the deputies were at Rome in the Easter time, when said difference of a month occurred, alluding to the year 631. Colgan explains Cummián's text as signifying, that this great difference took place in the year of the return of the deputies, which, as well as the synod of White-field, he accordingly marks at 631; thus supposing, that the synod of Maghlene might have been held in 628, whereas, if different from that of White-field, there must have been at least three years between them. But his interpretation of Cummián's words cannot be reconciled with the context, and that of Usher is the only correct one. It may, however, be doubted, whether the year 631 was the first next, or the second next, after the synod of Maghlene, whereas the deputies might not have arrived at Rome prior to the Easter of the year immediately subsequent to that of the synod. In this case the Easter of 631, which the deputies saw celebrated at Rome, would have been in the second year after the synod, which consequently would have been held in 629. Yet this is an inquiry of very little importance, and we may safely adhere to the date assigned by Usher. It now remains to observe, that, if the synod of White-field was, as seems exceeding probable, different from that of Maghlene, it must have been held in 633 or 634. O'Flaherty, who agrees with Colgan as to the two synods, differs from him with regard to the times. He admits with Usher, that the synod of Maghlene was held in 630, and then places that of White-field in 633. (See *Ogygia vindicated*, ch. 17.) But, as delays usually occur in such

cases, it might have been as late as 634. Bede, making mention (*L. 2. c. 19.*) of the letter of Pope Honorius to the Irish nation, seems to assign it about the same time that he sent the pall and wrote to Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, which was, he says, in 634. (Others have said, in 633.) Supposing this to have been Bede's meaning, it will follow, that said letter was not written prior to the synod of Maghlene, or in 629, as Usher thought, (see *Not. 28.*) but after it, and when the Irish deputies were setting out from Rome. And thus we have an additional argument in favour of Colgan's statement of those transactions, excepting, however, his dates, which are in opposition even to Bede, if, as appears very probable, he ought to be understood as placing the Pope's letter to the Irish about the year 633 or 634.

(37) Bede writes *L. 2. c. 3.* " Porro gentes Scottorum, quae in australibus Hiberniae insulae partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicae sedis antistitis Pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt." He is treating in that chapter of some transactions of the year 635. His saying *jamdudum* cannot be construed into his having meant to state, that the Roman method had been universally received in the South of Ireland a considerable time before that year; for, not to repeat what has been given from Cummián, in this case Bede would have contradicted himself, whereas from the manner, in which he speaks (*L. 2. c. 19.*) of the letter of Pope Honorius, it is clear that he did not consider that method as received in any great part of Ireland at the time said letter was written. Therefore the phrase *jamdudum* is not relative to the year 635; or, if it be, it must be translated merely *already*, without an allusion to any particular length of time. In fact, the Southern Irish had adopted the Roman system before that year. Bede makes mention, in the same chapter, of the Northern province of the Scots, meaning the Northern half of Ireland, in which, he says, the old Irish method was still observed at that period. He alluded to the well known ancient division of Ireland into two parts, viz. Legh-Cuin and Legh-Mogha, separated from each other by a boundary line extending from the mouth of the Liffy to where Galway now stands. Legh-Cuin, *al.* Legh-Con was the northern, and Legh-Mogha the southern half. (See Ware, *Antiq. cap. 3.* in Harris's *ed. 4.*)

Instead of *Lagh*, it would be more correct to spell it *Leath*, which signifies *half*.

§. VII. One of the principal abettors of the Roman computation and promoters of its adoption by the Southern Irish was Cummian, author of the celebrated Paschal epistle to Segienus, or Segenius, abbot of Hy and others. (38) He seems to have been a Columbian monk, (39) and was probably educated in the monastery of Durrogh, (40) which was subject to the superintendence of the abbot of Hy. At the time of the proceedings now related he had, apparently, an establishment of his own, which was, in all likelihood, that of Disert-chuimin, (so called from his name) now Kilcomin or Kilcummin in the King's county. (41) Segienus and his monks of Hy, who were greatly attached to the Irish method, in consequence of its having been observed by St. Columba, (42) were much displeased with Cummian for his opposition to it, and for his having, as there is great reason to believe, induced the Columbian monks of Durrogh to unite with the whole clergy and people of the South in the adoption of the Roman system. To answer the charges brought against him, Cummian wrote his epistle (43) in defence of himself and of those, who were of his opinion. He says, that prior to his having consulted the successors of Ailbe, &c. (44) he spent a whole year in studying the subject in dispute, that he searched the holy scriptures, examined ecclesiastical history, inquired into the various cycles and into the divers Paschal systems of the Jews, Greeks, Latins and Egyptians. And very ably has he executed his task. Besides a multitude of texts of Scripture he quotes passages from Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, St. Augustin, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and Gregory the great. He refers also to councils, and dives into the intricacies of the Paschal computations, resting his arguments partly on the

origin and nature of the Paschal solemnity, and partly on authority, particularly that of the great body of the Catholic church. Laying great stress on the doctrine of St. Cyprian and other Holy fathers concerning the unity of the Church, he says; "Can any thing more pernicious be conceived as to the mother church than to say; Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs; the Scots and Britons alone are right." Cummián's knowledge of Greek is discoverable, and perhaps too much so, in this tract, which, on the whole, exhibits an extraordinary degree of learning of various kinds, and shows how well stocked with books, considering the times, the Irish libraries were at that period, and with what ardour the students made use of them. Cummián did not, however, succeed in convincing the monks of Hy, who, as will be seen, continued for many years after to follow the Irish computation.

(38) In the head to this Epistle, besides Segineus (of whom see *Chap. xiv. §. 12.*) Beccan, a solitary, is particularly mentioned as brother to Cummián. Colgan treats of him at 17 *Mart.* and says, that he was surnamed *Ruim* or *Ruiminn*. He makes him a native of Tyconnel and of the house of Niall, in consequence of his having confounded Cummián with Cummineus Albus abbot of Hy. Several Becans were distinguished in the South of Ireland, where we find a Becan of Kinsale, a Becan, son of Cula (*AA. SS. p. 623.*) and a Becan of Cluain-ard. Mobecoe in Muskerry (*ib. p. 615*) or, as Archdall calls it, Killbeacan. The Becan, brother of Cummián, was probably in Hy at the time Cummián wrote his epistle, but might have afterwards settled in Ireland. For we are not bound to believe, that he was the Becan Ruiminn, who, according to the 4 *Masters (ib. p. 630)* died in Britain A. 676.

(39) Cummián's letter is in the form of an apology to persons invested with some jurisdiction over him, and he addresses them as his fathers, protesting that his differing from them on the Paschal question was not owing to any contempt of them but to a conviction of the truth of his opinion.

(40) According to Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 411.*) Cumman is said to have been abbot of Durrough. He might have been raised to that situation before his death; but it is more than doubtful whether he was abbot there at the time he wrote that letter. It is worth remarking that, as Colgan observes, Durrough was situated in the plain called Magh-lene. Hence it follows that the synod, called of Maghlene, may be supposed to have been held in that monastery, or in the open air near it. This furnishes an additional argument in favour of Colgan's account of that synod, &c. (See *Not. 36.*)

(41) Colgan says (*ib. and p. 408.*) that Disert-chuimin was at the borders of Leinster and Munster (old Munster), and west of Roscrea. This agrees with the situation of Kilcomin, which is seven miles west of that town. (See Archdall at *Kilcomin.*) Cumman placed some reliques of St. Peter and Paul in the church of Disert-chuimin; (Colgan, *ib.*) and we may justly suppose, that it is to them he alludes in his Epistle. He represents his habitation as a sort of lurking place; "*Haec dixi, non ut vos impugnam, sed ut me ut nycticoracem in domicilio latitantem defenderem.*" This passage cannot be well understood as referring to the great monastery of Durrough, but is very clear if applied to Disert-chuimin.

(42) See *Not. 236. to Chap. XII.*

(43) Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) assigns it to A. D. 634. It seems, indeed, to have been written not long after the return of the deputies from Rome, which was in 633. If, as appears most probable, the synod of White-field was different from that of Maghlene, and was accordingly held after said return, we may be allowed to suppose that the Epistle was written previous to it; and thus the silence of Cumman with regard to this synod may be satisfactorily explained. (Compare with *Not. 36.*)

(44) See *Not. 30.*

§. VIII. This really learned man has, as observed elsewhere, (45) been most strangely confounded with Cumineus Albus, abbot of Hy, and hence it has been inferred, that he was of the Tyrconnel line of the Nials and nephew to the abbot Segineus. (46) It is plain, that Cumman was a native of some part

of the southern half of Ireland, or Legh-Mogha, (47) from which were all those members of the synod of Magh-lene (*Cathpus Lene*) mentioned by him, and whom he calls the successors of our former fathers, (48) thus alluding to the part of Ireland, to which he belonged. It has been conjectured, and with great probability, that he was the same as Cummin surnamed *Fada*, or *the long*, (49) a man celebrated for his learning. The names are not different; (50) and nothing can agree better than the times. For Cummin *Fada*, who was son to Fiachna, king of West Munster, was born in 592 and died in 662. (51) Now, as Cummin wrote the Paschal epistle about 634, he would, supposing him the same as Cummin *Fada*, have been at that time about 42 years old, an age answering very well for the composition of so learned a production. Next comes the great reputation for learning enjoyed by Cummin *Fada*; (52) and certainly it would have been well merited, were he the author of the Epistle. The only objection of any weight that I can find against this hypothesis, is that Cummin *Fada* is said to have been bishop of Clonfert, whereas Cummin seems to have been only a priest. Yet it is not certain that he never became a bishop; (53) and on the other hand there is reason to doubt, whether Cummin *Fada* was one. (54) Besides the Paschal Epistle, Cummin was, in all appearance, author of the treatise, *De poenitentiarum mensura*, a very learned abridgment of the ancient penitential canons. (55) I have nothing further to add concerning this distinguished man than that, if he was the same as Cummin *Fada*, he lived until 662, and died either on the 12th of November, or 2d of December in said year. (56)

(45) *Not.* 70 to *Chap.* xi. To the writers there mentioned, who fell into this mistake, we may add Archdall (at *Kilcomin*), and Ledwich, (*Ant.* p. 168) who adds that Cummin was a Culdee

and apostatized. When the Doctor talks of Culdees he does not know what he is saying. And as to *apostatizing*, what did Cummanian apostatize from? He received the Alexandrian, or new Roman cycle, &c. instead of the Irish one. If this be apostacy, there is not a greater apostate in the world than the Doctor himself. For he has received, and does pertinaciously follow, the Gregorian calendar or New stile, which has been brought from that mother of corruption, Rome, rejecting the good Old stile, which had been so long observed by the church of England. Cummanian, by whatever name the Doctor may please to call him, was, at least, an honest man. He did not conceal the known truth. He did not act like the Doctor, when, analyzing Cumman's epistle, (*ib.* and *p.* 169.) he wilfully omitted what is there said of St. Patrick and his cycle. (See *Chap.* 11. §. 5.)

(46) This and similar stuff will be found in Colgan's *Acts of Cumineus* at 24 Feb. In consequence of said confusion he makes also Becan a nephew of Segineus. (See *Not.* 38.) But, if Segineus had been uncle to Cummanian, would he not have been mentioned as such in the inscription to the epistle, in the same manner as Cummanian there calls Becan his brother?

(47) See *Not.* 37.

(48) *Successores nostrorum patrum priorum, Ailbei episcopi, &c.* (See *Not.* 30.) Afterwards he says; "Visum est senioribus nostris. These elders were all Southerns.

(49) Ware, (*Writers at Cummin Fada*) who has been followed by Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, &c. at Cummanian. Harris argues against this conjecture of Ware on the ground that the author of the Paschal epistle was connected with the monks of Hy, with whom Cummin Fada had nothing to do. How did he know this? Or how could he prove, that Cummin Fada was not a Columbian monk belonging to one or other of their establishments in the South of Ireland?

(50) The names, *Cumin*, *Cummin*, *Cummanian*, latinized into *Cumineus* and *Cummanianus* are frequently used for one and the same person.

(51) Usher, *p.* 972. from the Ulster annals. Colgan has (*AA. SS.* *p.* 149.) a fable concerning Cummin Fada having been educated by St. Ita, as if a man, who was not born until 592, could have been reared by a person, who died in 570. This fable has

been copied by Harris, (*Writers*) although he might have observed, that Colgan acknowledges that the history of Cummin Fada has been corrupted by various anachronisms. In what Colgan adds concerning his having had for preceptor a St. Colman O'Cluassagh, who is said to have written a panegyric on him, I find nothing contradictory. Of this Colman nothing further is known than that he died, according to the 4 Masters (*ib. p. 247*) in 661 (662) the year, to which, together with the Annals of Ulster, they assign also the death of Cummin Fada.

(52) In the *Festilogium* of Aengus, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 746*) it is stated that, while other holy men received one gift or another from the Almighty, Cummin Fada received that of science and wisdom. He is said to have been the author of a hymn beginning with the words, "*Celebra Juda festa Christi gaudia.*" (See Usher, *p. 972* and Ware at *Cummin Fada.*)

(53) If Cummin was the same as the priest Commian of the third class, (see *Chap. xiv. §. 8.*) it will follow that he was never raised to the episcopacy, as he was dead before the catalogue of saints was written. Usher thought (*p. 968*) they were the same; yet we have no positive proof of it, and there were other Commians distinguished in those days, to one or other of whom the author might have alluded, perhaps to Commian or Cumineus abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 665. (See Usher, *ib.* and *AA. SS. p. 90.*) Colgan (*ib. p. 59*) reckons a heap of saints Cummins, Cummians, Cumineus's, &c. all of one and the same name.

(54) Colgan (*ib. p. 149.*) calls Cummin Fada bishop of Clonfert, and has been followed by Ware, (*Bishops*) who, however, does not give him that title in *Writers*, which he had published before the *AA. SS.* appeared. Nor does Usher, wherever he mentions his name, call him a bishop, as he certainly would have done, had he found him so styled in his documents. Cummin Fada is spoken of several times in the Life of St. Molagga (20 January) without that title; and it is particularly remarkable, that in the 19th chapter of said Life he is mentioned immediately after Conang ô Daithil and Russin, the former of whom is called comorban of St. Ailbe (of Emly) and the latter comorban of St. Barr (of Cork); while Cummin Fada is designated merely as the son of Fiachna. Had he been bishop of Clonfert, would he not

have been styled a *comorban* as well as the prelates just named, that is, comorban or successor of St. Brendan? I suspect that the only foundation for making him bishop of Clonfert is a genealogical story of his having been half brother, by his mother's side, of Guaire king of Connaught. Hence it was inferred, that Guaire invited him to that province, and procured a bishopric for him. How little that story is to be depended on appears from its stating, that he was also maternal brother of Crimthann, son of Aidus king of Leinster. Thus his mother would have been married to three kings, Fiachna, Colman (father of Guaire), and Aidus. This is not enough; they moreover tell us that the said prolific princess was the mother of six bishops and six kings! (See *AA. SS.* p. 148.)

(55) This treatise was found by Fleming in the monastery of St. Gall under the name of abbot Cumean of Scotia or Ireland. It was afterwards published by Sirin, together with several other works, which Fleming had collected. Thence it has been republished in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. 12. Lyons, A. 1677. It bears every mark of that line of studies, to which Cummian had addicted himself, and shows a great knowledge of the discipline of both the Greek and Latin churches. It contains, indeed, several penitential rules inapplicable, at least in Cummian's time, to Ireland, such as those against heretics, persons treating with barbarous invaders, &c. &c. so that I thought for a while it might have been the work of a Cummian, who, though an Irishman, lived somewhere in the continent. But on observing the stress laid by the author on the canons against the Quartadecimans, whom he names very particularly, it appeared to me that the author must have been one, who wished to guard his readers against having any, the most remote, connexion with those heretics. There was no Irishman or Cummian, to whom this criterion is so applicable as to the writer of the Paschal epistle. His detailing penitential regulations then unnecessary in Ireland can be easily accounted for, whereas his object was to give a summary of the penitential discipline of the whole Christian church in every part of the world. The style of this tract is often coarse and somewhat incorrect like that of the epistle. Dupin observes, (*Bibliothèque, &c. at 7th century*) that it is well worth consideration on account of the knowledge it conveys of various ecclesiastical prac-

tices of that period. In it we find the confession of secret sins and bad thoughts, with the penances enjoined, (*psalm*) masses for the dead. (see *capp.* XI. and XIV.) the holy Eucharist constantly called *sacrifice*, (*capp.* XI. XII.) the celibacy of the clergy (*capp.* III.) &c. &c. As Cummián lived many years before Theodore of Canterbury, Floury was mistaken (*L.* 40. §. 46) in saying that the latter was the first among the Latins that drew up a penitential.

(56) Some old calendarists assign the *Natalis* of Cummián Fada to 12 Nov.; but the 4 Masters place his death on the 2d of Dec. See *A.A.* 88. p. 149.

§ IX. St. Laserian, the other great supporter of the new Paschal computation, was, it is said, (57) son of Cairél a nobleman of Ulster and of Gemma daughter of Aiden king of the British Scots. (58) The year of his birth is not known (59); and the early part of his life is involved in obscurity. According to one account he was a disciple of Fintan Munnu, while another places him under an abbot Murin. (60) When arrived at a mature age, he is said to have proceeded to Rome, and to have remained there for 14 years. (61) Then we are told that he was ordained priest by Pope Gregory the great, and soon after returned to Ireland. Coming to Leighlin (Old Leighlin) he was most kindly received by St. Gobban, who there governed a monastery. This saint conceived such a high opinion of Laserian that he gave up to him his establishment, and went to erect a monastery elsewhere. (62) Laserian is said to have had 1500 monks under him at Leighlin. (63) About the year 630 he went again to Rome, probably as chief of the deputation sent by the heads of the Southern clergy after the synod of Maghlene, (64) and was there consecrated bishop by the then Pope, Honorius I. (65) After his return to Ireland, in or about 638, he greatly contributed towards the final settlement of the Paschal question in the South, (66) which he

survived only a few years, having died in 639 (67) on the 18th of April. This saint was buried in his own church at Leighlin, and his memory has been greatly revered in the province of Leinster. (68)

(57) The Bollandists have (at 18 April) a Life of Lasarian or Lasrean, which, they say, was written after the year 1100. They justly observe, that it is a confused tract and often not worthy of credit. He is sometimes called *Molassius* or *Molaissus*, latinized from *Mo* and *Laisre* his real name, in the same manner as his namesake of Devenish was so called, with whom he must not (as has been done by Hammer, p. 123, new ed.) be confounded. (See *Not.* 124 to *Chap.* XII.)

(58) Ware (*Antiq. cap.* 29. and *Bishops at Leighlin*) says, that Lasarian was son of Cairel de Blitha. Harris (*Bishops*) translates by *Blitha*; and perhaps this was Ware's meaning; for his account of this saint differs in many respects from that of the Life published by the Bollandists. For instance, according to Ware, his mother was daughter of a king of the Picts.

(59) The Bollandists supposed, (*Comment. præc.*) but without any authority, that he was born about 566. This conjecture is connected with a huge mistake of theirs, of which lower down, in stating that Fintan Munnu was then a monk in Hy.

(60) The Bollandist Life makes Fintan his master. But it is probable that Lasarian was nearly as old as Fintan, who was young at the time of Columbkil's death in 597. In the account of the contest between them at Whitefield there is no allusion to this discipleship. According to Ware, Lasarian studied under Murin, until he set out for Rome. Who this Murin was Ware does not tell us. He could not have been St. Murus of Fahan, (in Donegall) who flourished about the middle of the seventh century. Perhaps the person meant by the name of *Murin* was Murgenius abbot of Glean-Ussen; (see *Chap.* XIV. §. 11.) and there is reason to think, that Lasarian studied rather in the South, where the clergy were inclined to receive the Roman cycle, &c. than in the North where it was violently opposed.

(61) Ware agrees with the Life as to these 14 years spent at

Rome. The Bollandists think that, instead of *fourteen*, we ought to read *four*.

(62) Colgan was of opinion (*AA. SS. p. 750*) that this was the Gobban who governed a church at Kill-Lamhraighe, a place in the West of Ossory, viz. after having left Leighlin, and who was buried at Clonenagh. Archdall (at *Leighlin*) refers to Colgan and Usher as if placing the death of Gobban in 639, although Usher says nothing about him, nor does Colgan even mention his name in the page referred to.

(63) See *Not. 36*.

(64) *Ib.* I wish the account of Laserian's having been at Rome in the time of Gregory the great were as well founded as that of his mission thither after the synod of Magh-lene.

(65) Usher, *p. 938*. Ware, *Antiq. cap. 29*.

(66) See *Not. 36*.

(67) *Annals of Innisfallen*.

(68) Ware, *loc. cit.*

§: x. The distinguished opponent of Laserian, Fintan Munnu or Munna, was of the Niall family, and son of Tulcan and Feidelmia. (69) Whether he belonged to the Northern or Southern Nialls I do not find recorded; but it appears probable, that he was of the former, and that he was a native of the North of Ireland. (70) He is said to have been placed first at the school of Bangor under St. Comgall, and to have afterwards studied in the school of Kilmore Deathrib, which Columbkille is supposed to have governed for some time before his departure from Ireland. (71) Passing by this more than doubtful statement, Fintan's chief master and instructor seems to have been Sinell, son of Maynacur, with whom he remained for 18 years at Cluain-inis (72) until about the time that he resolved on going to Hy for the purpose of being admitted a member of the monastery. While preparing to set out for the island he was informed, that St. Columba died a few days before and was succeeded by Baithen. Fintan still persevered in his determination, hoping to be received by Baithen into his community.

When arrived in Hy, he was treated as a mere stranger; for even his name was not known there, and Baithen had never seen him until that time. (73) On being introduced to Baithen, he was examined by him as to his name, family, studies, conduct, &c. and his object in coming to Hy. Fintan, having answered all his questions, humbly requested to be admitted as a monk. Baithen replied; "I thank my God, that you are come to this place; but this you must know that you cannot be a monk of ours." Fintan much afflicted at these words said; "Is it that I am unworthy of being one?" "No;" answered Baithen; "but, although I should be very glad to keep you with me, I must obey the orders of my predecessor Columba, who some time ago said to me in the spirit of prophecy; Baithen remember these words of mine; immediately after my departure from this life, a brother, who is now regulating his *youthful age* by good conduct, and well versed in sacred studies, named Fintan, of the race of Mocu-Moie, (74) and son of Failchan, will come to you from Ireland (Scotia) and will supplicate to be reckoned among the monks. But it is predetermined by God, that he is to be an abbot presiding over monks, and a guide of souls. Do not therefore let him remain in these islands of ours, but direct him to return in peace to Ireland (Scotia), that he may there establish a monastery in a part of Leinster not far from the sea, and labour for the good of souls." The holy *young man*, shedding tears, returned thanks to Christ, and said that he would follow these directions. Soon after, having received Baithen's blessing, he returned to Ireland. (75) What is here related must have occurred in the year 597, as it was very soon after the death of St. Columba. We may fairly suppose, that Fintan did not delay long to set about forming his monastery, which has been called, from his

name, *Teach-munnu*, the house of Munnu, (76) now Taghmon in the county of Wexford. He is said to have presided there over 152 holy monks. (177) Were we to believe certain confused accounts, Fintan founded some other establishments; but I shall not tire myself or the reader with searching for them. (78) Nor is it necessary to undertake a serious refutation of his having been abbot and bishop of Clonenagh. (79) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but on such authority as cannot be depended upon. (80) Notwithstanding his opposition to the Roman cycle, he was, even at the time of the contest with Laserian, most highly revered for his sanctity and power of working miracles. (81) It appears, that Fintan soon after withdrew this opposition, and agreed with his brethren of the South. (82) He did not long survive this happy event; whereas he died in 635 on the 21st of October (83)

(69) His Life begins with the following words, as quoted by Ware; (*Writers*, cap. 13. al. 15.) “Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis nomine Munnu, de claro genere Hiberniæ insulæ, idem de nepotibus Neil, cujus pater vocabatur Tulcanus, mater vero Feidelmia dicebatur.” Tulcan was descended from Conal son of Niall. (*Tr. Th. p.* 373.) Archdall, according to his usual carelessness as to spelling names, has (at Taghmon) *Fulcan* instead of *Tulcan*. This saint is sometimes called simply *Munnu*, as in the passage now quoted, and elsewhere throughout said Life; or *Munna*, as in the Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns; (cap. 32.) and at other times simply *Fintan*, as by Adamnan, (*Vit. S. Col. L. 1. c. 2.*) who calls him Fintan son of Tailcan. Colgan says (*Tr. Th. ib.*) that *Munnu* was a surname, and latinizes it into *mundus*, meaning, I suppose, that it signified *clean*. Adamnan speaks of Fintan as of the race of *Mocu-Moie*, which Colgan thinks ought to be read *Mocu-Maine*, by allusion to Fintan’s maternal descent, as his mother was of the family of Maine or Manius likewise a Niall. (*ib.* from Fintan’s Life.) Might it not be conjectured, that the

name or surname *Munnu* may have some reference to the *Maine* branch of that family?

(70) Adamnan (*L. 1. c. 2.*) makes mention of a clergyman, named Colum-crag, as a friend of Fintan. Colum-crag lived somewhere not far from Derry. (See *Not.* 117 to *Chap.* xi.)

(71) O'Donnel, *Life of St. Col. L. 1. c. 110.* and Fintan's *Life.* (See *Tr. Th. p.* 460.) But how reconcile Fintan's having been a disciple of Columkill before A. D. 563, the year of his departure for Hy, with Adamnan's speaking of him as a young man at the time of the same saint's death in 597? To mend the matter, it is added in the same *Life* and by O'Donnel, that Columkill being at Kilmore-Deathrib told Baithen, that young Munnu, who was then in the school, would become a great and holy man. Now we know from Adamnan, (*L. 1. c. 2.*) that Baithen had never seen him until he went to Hy, and that even his name had not been heard of before in that island. Hence it is clear, that the account of Fintan having been a scholar of Columkill's any where is fabulous. It was too much the fashion of our hagiologists to make the saints, whose acts they undertook to write, disciples of various eminent men without caring about times or places. Concerning Kilmore-Deathrib see *Chap.* xi. §. 10.

(72) See *Chap.* xii. §. 12.

(73) Hence it appears how much mistaken the Bollandists were (at *Life of Lasarian, Comment. pr.*) in stating, that Fintan Munnu had been in Hy since the year 566, and that he was then a monk there. The fact is that, as will be seen directly, he was not at any time a monk of Hy.

(74) See *Not.* 69.

(75) Adamn. *L. 1. c. 2.* and Munnu's *Life,* (*ap. Tr. Th. p.* 461.) which adds, that the part of Leinster, to which he was directed to go, was Hy-kinselagh.

(76) In the *Life of St. Maidoc of Ferns* we read; (*cap.* 32.) "Quodam tempore sanctus episcopus Moedoc exivit visitare S. Munna abbatein habitantem in suo monasterio, quod dicitur *Teach Munnae.*"

(77) *AA. SS. p.* 218. Yet, *ib.* (*p.* 606.) Colgan makes them 233; and (*p.* 50) 234.

(78) Colgan quotes (*ib.* p. 606) from the Life of Munnu a passage, in which he is said to have spent, before he went to Hykineseagh, five years in a monastery of his at Teachtelle in the district of Heli (Ely O'Carrol) in Munster. But why go to Munster, after he had been directed to settle in Leinster? From what I have met with of that Life, it is easy to perceive, that it is a confused fabulous tract; and it is better to follow Adamnan, and the author of the Life of Maidoc, who give us to understand, that Fintan, or Munnu, governed only one monastery, viz. that of Taghmon.

(79) Colgan has this fable, *AA. SS.* p. 356. Whence he got it he does not tell us. Perhaps he took it from some scholiast, who, finding that there were one or two Fintans at Clonenagh, and that there was a bishop Fintan, confounded Munnu with more than one of them for this wise reason, that he also was a Fintan. (Compare with *Not.* 174 to *Chap.* XII.) Archdall, the humble follower of Colgan, has copied this stuff (at *Clonenagh*).

(80) Hanmer (*Chron.* p. 123.) makes him the author of a book on the Paschal controversy, as if his disputation on that subject were to be construed into a book. Dempster ascribes to one Fintan a work on the Acts of Columbkille, and some Epistles to St. Baithen. Colgan thought, (*Tr. Th.* p. 470) that Dempster meant Fintan Munnu, although he was wrong in his account of Fintan. It is of no consequence whom he meant; for we may be sure, that the whole is one of his usual inventions.

(81) In the account of the proceedings at White-field it is related, that Munnu proposed to refer the question to the judgment of God to be declared by miracles. I very much doubt of his having done so. Such a proposal smells of later times than those, in which he lived. Be this as it may, Lasarian is said to have declined the challenge, observing that, if Munnu wished to change the mountain Marge into White-field, or vice versa, God would grant him his request. (See Usher, p. 937.)

(82) We read, (*ib.*) that the synod of White-field terminated in the general consent of all those, who had attended it. "Postea consentientes populi cum sanctis ad sua reversi sunt."

(83) The Annals of Tigernach have; "A. D. 634. the rest of Fintan, i. e. Mundu Mac Tullcain 12 *Cal. Novemb.*" Usher has retained (*Ind. Chron.*) A. 634; but Ware (*Writers at Munnu*)

more correctly substituted A. 635. For the 4 Masters, who generally anticipate a year, have also 634. (See *Tr. Th. p. 373.*) In Harris' edition the 24th of October appears, through an error of the press, instead of the 21st; and in Archdall's book, which is full of such errors, the 25th (at Taghmon). But, (at *Clone-nagh*) he has the 21st, joined, however, with another error, viz. 638 for the year of Fintan's death, instead of 634 (635).

§. XI. The proceedings in the southern half of Ireland concerning the Paschal controversy gave rise to discussions on the same subject in Leigh cuin or the northern half. It seems, that several of the clergy of this division were inclined to receive the new Roman computation, while others held out for the Irish one. It was accordingly thought adviseable to consult the Holy see on this question; whereupon Thomian, archbishop of Armagh, (84) and several other prelates and distinguished clergymen wrote a letter to Rome, accompanied with some documents relative to it. (85) This letter was not received until a little before the death of Pope Severinus, who consequently had not time to draw up an answer to it, nor was it even opened during the short time that he survived. (86) But soon after his death the heads of the Roman clergy, the see being vacant, wrote, in answer to that of the Irish prelates, &c. a letter directed to the very same persons who had addressed the Holy see. It was written in 640, (87) some time between the first of August and the Christmas of said year, (88) and is headed with the names of Hilarus the archpriest, acting for the holy Apostolic see; John a deacon and Pope elect; John the primicerius, and acting for the holy Apostolic see; and John, counsellor of the same Apostolic see. The persons, to whom it is directed, are thus mentioned; "To the most beloved and holy Thomian, Columban, *Cronan, Dima*, (89) and Baithan bishops; *Cronan*, (90) Ernian, Laistran, Scellan, and Segenus priests; Saran and the other Scot doc-

tors and abbots." (91) The letter begins with a charge against some persons of their province, as if renewing the Quartadeiman heresy; (92) whence it appears, that false reports had been circulated at Rome, and that the true state of the question was not rightly understood. Unfortunately the remainder of it is lost, except a part, in which the Irish clergy are cautioned against allowing the poison of Pelagianism to spread in their country. "For," say the Roman clergy, "you cannot be ignorant of "how that execrable heresy has been condemned; "whereas it has not only been abolished for 200 "years back, but, although buried, is every day "anathematized by us; and we exhort you to take "care, that the ashes of those, whose weapons have "been burnt, be not stirred up among you. For who "will not execrate the proud and impious endeavours "of those, who say that a man can exist without sin "through his own will, and not by the grace of "God? And, first of all, it is a foolish blasphemy "to say, that man is without sin, which no one can "by any means be, except the one mediator of God "and men the man Christ Jesus, who was conceived "and brought forth without sin. For all other men, "being born with original sin, are known (even "though not in a state of actual sin) to bear testimony of Adam's prevarication, according to the "words of the prophet; *For behold I was conceived "in iniquities, &c.*" This truly execrable heresy did not begin to make its appearance in Ireland until a short time before the Roman letter was written, (93) It was not infected with any such heresy in the days of St. Columbanus; (94) nor does Pelagianism seem to have made any progress in Ireland, or to have given rise to even one congregation separated from the Catholic church. (95) The most that can be allowed is, that, although there was no Pelagian sect in this country, there were some theologians, who, in discussing the important questions relative to

Grace and Free will, were more inclined to favour the latter than the former, and, as has been too much the case with many divines of later times, intermingled certain Pelagian principles or embers with the doctrine of the Gospel.

(84) See *Chap.* xiv. §. 12.

(85) That such a letter was written by Thomian, &c. although not remarked by Usher and Ware, is evident from the letter of the Roman clergy, which is represented as an answer to the papers sent from Ireland, and begins with these words; "*Scripta, quae perlatores ad sanctae memoriae Severinum Papam adduxerunt, et, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea quae postulata fuerant, siluerunt. Quibus reseratis,*" &c. It is thus the passage appears in Smith's edition of Bede, *L. 2. c. 19.* In an older edition, followed by Usher, (*Sylloge Ep. Hib. No. 9.*) it runs somewhat differently, so that Usher thought that before *scripta* we should place *Ad.* Be this as it may, the word, *Scripta* seems to indicate something more than a mere letter.

(86) Hence we understand why the Roman clergy say, *Scripta —siluerunt. Quibus reseratis*, that is, unsealed after the death of Severinus.

(87) Ware, (*Bishops at Thomian*) assigns this letter to 639. Usher also had (*Sylloge, &c.*) marked the same date; but having afterwards found, that Severinus died in 640, he affixed it (*Pr. p. 938 and Ind. Chron.*) to this year, and indeed justly; for Pope Severinus died on the first (not second, as Usher says, this being the day of his burial) of August in said year. (See Pagi, *Critica*, &c. ad A. 638. §. 3. and A. 639. §. 3. As the pontificate of Severinus lasted little more than two months, having begun on the 28th of May, and ended on the first of August, it is right to conclude, that the letter of Thomian, &c. directed to Rome, was written also in the same year 640, that is, the early part of it, and for the same reason I have stated, that it was not received by Severinus until a short time before his death.

(88) The vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Severinus continued four months and 24 days, and ended with the consecration of John IV. which, says Pagi, (at A. 639 §. 7.) took

place on the 24th of December, A. D. 640. Hence it follows that, as the Roman letter was written during said vacancy, its date must be assigned as here stated.

(89) In all the editions of Bede, instead of *Cronan*, we find *Croman*; but Colgan observes (*AA. SS. p. 16.*) and, I think, justly, that *Cronan* is the true reading. *Croman* is not an Irish name, whereas *Cronan* was a very common one. As to *Dima*, Smith has changed it into *Dinna*. Yet there can be no doubt that the real name was *Dima* or *Diman*.

(90) Here again Bede's text has *Croman*.

(91) Some account of the persons here named will naturally be expected by the reader. Concerning Thomian we have seen already, *Chap. xiv. §. 12.* Of the others Colgan treats (*AA. SS. at 6 Januar. p. 16, 17.*) in a brief, but rather correct, manner. The bishop Columban was Columban Hua Telduibh, bishop of Clonard, who died on the 8th of February, A. D. 652 (653). Elsewhere (*ib. p. 406.*) Colgan calls him *Colman*; for the names *Colman* or *Columban* were frequently interchanged. Usher makes mention of him (*p. 964*) by the name of *bishop Colman, son of Cuidel-dubh*, and says that, according to the Ulster annals, he died in 653 (654). Ware (*Bishops at Meath*) marks his death at 651, for no other reason, as well as I can discover, than that, having found in *AA. SS. (p. 406.)* the death of Ossan, the successor of Colman at Clonard, assigned also to 652, he thought Colman's death ought to be drawn back at least one year. Harris, in his additions to Ware, mentions a typographical error, following which Ware would seem to place the death of Colman 852. This error appears in the Latin edition of Ware's *Bishops*, but has been corrected in the English translation. *Cronan* was bishop of Antrim, and died in 642 (643).

Dima or *Diman* was bishop of Connor. He was a native of Munster, and son of Aengus of the Dalcassian line of the royal house of that province. The occasion of his being settled at Connor was his having been, when young, placed in the monastery and school, which was governed by Colman-elo, while he resided in that diocese. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 2.*) He is mentioned in Colman-elo's Life, as a most exemplary disciple of his, by the name of *Dima dubh*, or black, on account of his black hair or dark complexion; and in that of St. Cronan of Roscrea (if, however, the *Dima* there spoken of was the same, which I much doubt of), as

very expert in transcribing books, After Colma-elo's return to his own country, Dima became abbot of his monastery, and afterwards bishop of Connor. He lived to a very great age, and his death is assigned in various Irish annals to the year 658 (659), and sixth of January, at which day Colgan has given his *Acta Ware (Bishops at Connor)* has the 16th of January, 656. As to the 16th it must be an error of the press; for Colgan, from whom he took his account of Dima, constantly has the 6th. And as to A. 656, Ware was led astray by a similar error in p. 16 of *AA. SS.* where we find that number, while every where else (ex c. p. 17. 18, and *Ind. Chron.*) we have 658. Harris, to show his learning, adds to Ware that, according to an ancient calendar, Dima died on the 5th of January. And why? Because the calendar has the 8th of the ides of that month. Now a schoolboy might have informed him, that the 8th Ides, &c. was exactly the sixth of January in the modern mode of reckoning.

Baithan was, says Colgan, (*ib. p. 17*), in Airteach, i. e. at a place in that district called from his name, Tegh-baithin in the diocese of Elphin, and not far from the town of said name. He treats of him at 19 *Febr.* and calls him son of Cuanach, who was a Niall. Yet he doubts, whether the Baithan of this Tegh-baithin (for there were other places so called) might not have been Baithen son of Alla. Be this as it may, the son of Cuanach is expressly called a bishop, and perhaps his see was the Teghbaitin of Westmeath, where some of our calendarists have placed him. Smith is quite wrong. (*Not. to Bede, L. 2. c. 19.*) in making the bishop Baithan of the Roman epistle Baithan of Clonmacnois; for this place belonged to the Southern half of Ireland, none of whose prelates or clergy were concerned in this correspondence; nor was Baithan of Clonmacnois a bishop as early as 640. Besides we know from Cummián, (above §. 6. and *Not. 30.*) that the abbot or bishop of Clonmacnois had declared in favour of the Roman computation at the synod of Maghlene.

Cronan, the first mentioned among the priests, was abbot of Maghbile, or Moville in the county of Down. He died on the 7th of August, A. D. 649 (650.) Usher (p. 969) makes mention of a Cronan son of Silni; but nothing more is accurately known about him than that he died in 665. Here again occurs another mistake of Smith. He makes the Cronan of the letter Cronan of Roscrea. Without adducing other arguments it is sufficient to ob-

serve, that Cronan of Roscrea belonged to the South of Ireland. It is strange, that this laborious editor of Bedé did not look into Colgan's *AA. SS.* Had he done so; his annotation on the persons named in said letter would not have been so meagre and incorrect as it is.

Ernian was, in all probability, Ernan abbot in Torey island, who flourished at this period. He is called the son of Colman, and must not be confounded with Ernen or Erneneus, son of Crescen, of whom Adamnan says (*Vit. S. C. L. l. c. 3.*) that he was famous and very well known throughout all the churches of Ireland. For this Ernen, besides having been a Southern, died, as will be seen hereafter, in 635, and accordingly some years before Thomian, &c. wrote to Rotne. Ernian of the letter was different also from Ernene or Ferreolus, who was buried at Druim-Tomma, and who, according to every appearance, was not a priest. (See *Not. 118 to Chap. xi.*) Usher seems to have confounded together these three Ernenes or Ernans. (Compare *p. 968. with Ind. Chron. ad a. 635.*) Colgan has taken care to distinguish (*Tr. Th. p. 490.*) Ernan of Tory island from the one of Druim-Tomma. Of the latter he treats particularly, at 1. January, the day to which he assigns his death; while he observes elsewhere (*Tr. Th. ib. and p. 451.*) that Ernan of Tory island seems to be the Ernan, whose memory was revered on the 11th of January.

Laistran was the same as Lasrean son of Nasca, and abbot of Ardmacnasca near Down. To what has been said of him already (*Not. 224. to Chap. xiv.*) I will only add, that the name *Ardmanasca* signifies the *height of the son of Nasca*.

As to Scullan there is some difficulty. Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 17.*) changes the name into *Stellan*, and makes him the abbot Stellan of Iniskeltair in Lough-Dery of the Shannon. That *Scellan* and *Stellan* were one and the same name I do not mean to deny; and it seems that Stellan of Iniskeltair was the Scellan disciple of St. Molua of Clonfert-molua, mentioned by Usher, (*p. 969.*) and who, he says, was the person named in the letter. But these statements cannot be reconciled with the fact, that both Iniskeltair and Clonfert-molua were comprized in the southern division of Ireland. And then we know from Cumman (*above §. 6. and Not. 30.*) that the monks of Clonfert-molua had received

the Roman cycle, &c. since the time of the synod of Maghlene. The Scellan of the letter was most probably St. Scellan, surnamed the *leper*, who was revered at Armagh on the first of September. (See *Tr. Th.* p. 311.) And hence we may discover at what period this saint lived.

Segenus is supposed by some writers to be the abbot Segenius of Hy; but, were this the case, it must seem odd, that his name should be placed so far down in the series. His rank, as abbot of Hy, would have entitled him to the first place after the bishops. It may also be observed, that the monks of Hy were at that time so much attached to the Irish cycle, that they were probably not inclined to enter into any negotiation about it. There were other Segens then living in the North, *ex. c.* Segen, son of Hua-cuinn, who died abbot of Bangor on the 10th of September, A. 662 (663), and whom Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 17.) gives the preference to with regard to this inquiry. Or he might have been the Segen who succeeded Thomian in the see of Armagh, and who was probably a priest of that church in 640 although then young.

Saran, the last mentioned, was, says Colgan (*ib.*) St. Saran O'Critain, who died in 661 (662). I wish he had given us some further information concerning him. This much is clear that, although either an abbot or a master of theology, he was not a priest.

(92) See above *Not.* 22.

(93) The Roman clergy say; "Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianae haereseos apud vos denuo reviviscit." This does not mean, that it had existed of old in Ireland; but that having been already crushed every where, it was beginning to be received, and that the abettors of this heresy fixed upon Ireland as one of the scenes of their wicked endeavours. The words now quoted are explained by what is added concerning the care to be taken against admitting its ashes into this country.

(94) See *Chap.* XIII. §. 12.

(95) There is not in any Irish document the least allusion to any Pelagian sect formerly existing in Ireland. Usher, treating (*Gotteschalei, &c. Historia, cap.* 1.) of this charge made by the Roman clergy, does not name a single Irish school or individual, to whom it could be applied. He justly rejects the fable advanced by the German author of the Life of St. Kilian, the apostle of Franco-

nia, that one of the reasons why this saint went to Rome (A. D. 686, or 687.) was to be absolved from the censure under which Ireland lay on account of the Pelagian heresy; "*Hibernia siquidem olim Pelagiana foedata fuerunt haeresi, Apostolicaque censura damnata, quae nisi Romano judicio solvi non poterat.*" The falshood of this assertion shall be exposed hereafter; meanwhile I may observe, that it seems to have originated in an exaggerated interpretation of the passage quoted from the Roman letter.

§. XII. Whatever was the effect of admonition against the Pelagian heresy, of which there is no reason to think that it was not attended to, the Northerns, or at least a great part of them, still adhered to the Irish Paschal computation. Their perseverance in following this system was probably owing to the influence, which the monks of Hy enjoyed in that part of Ireland. (96) These monks were so much attached to it, that they observed it not only in the monastery, but likewise wherever they happened to be stationed. St. Aedan or Aidan, the apostle of Northumberland, introduced it into that country as late as the year 635. As a serious controversy was afterwards carried on there concerning this point, it becomes necessary to give some account of Aidan's mission. Oswald, king of Northumberland, (97) who had spent some years in exile among the Scots, and, together with his followers, had been converted by them to the Christian religion, was a very pious and zealous prince, insomuch so that, as soon as he got possession of his kingdom, wishing for the conversion of all his subjects, he sent to the elders of the Scots, with whom he was acquainted, requesting that they would send him a bishop, through whose ministry the English nation, over which he ruled, might be brought over to Christianity. (98) His request was granted; for they appointed for that purpose Aedan, (99) a monk of Hy, who, being found duly qualified in every respect, was consecrated

bishop, (100) and immediately set out for Northumberland. The early part of this great prelate's life is involved in obscurity. It cannot be doubted that he was a native of Ireland; (101) but I can find nothing further concerning him (102) until what is related as to the occasion of his being raised to the episcopal rank. On his arrival among the Northumbrians king Oswald gave him, according to his wish, the small island of Lindisfarne, since called Holy island, as a place for his see. Aedan lost no time in commencing his mission, and, as he was not as yet perfect master of the English language, the good king, who understood Irish very well, often served him as interpreter. Soon after numbers of auxiliaries, chiefly monks, came over from Ireland, (103) who preached with great zeal throughout the whole country, while such of them as were priests administered baptism to the new converts. Churches were erected in various places; the people flocked with joy to hear the word of God; lands and properties were granted for establishing monasteries and schools, in which the children of the English were taught by Irish masters and even the higher studies were cultivated. (104)

(96) Compare with Bede, *L. 5. c. 15.*

(97) The Northumbrian kingdom comprized at this period a much greater tract of country than what is now called Northumberland. A very considerable part of the South of Scotland was included in it. See Usher *p. 659. seqq.*

(98) Bede, *L. 3. c. 3.* It has been inquired, who were the Scots, among whom Oswald had been an exile. Some say they were the British Scots, and hence Mr. Lingard states (*Anglo-Saxon Church, ch. 1.*) that Oswald had concealed himself in the mountains of Scotland. Maihew, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS. p. 45.*) maintains (*Trophæa, &c. Life of Aidan at 31 Aug.*) that Oswald had taken refuge in Ireland, and that it was there he became a Christian. Fleury also observes (*Hist. Eccl. L. 38. §. 18.*) that by the Scots, among whom Oswald was baptized, are to be understood the Irish. And indeed, as Colgan justly remarks, it does not

seem probable, that Oswald or his Northumbrian relatives would have entrusted themselves to the protection of the British Scots, who were by no means friendly to that nation, and who must have felt sore at the signal defeat, which they had received some years before from Oswald's father Aedilfrid. (See Bede *L. 1. c. 34.*) On the other hand the people of Ireland were on the best terms with the Anglo Saxons; and, as Bede attests more than once, very kind to them. If it be admitted, that Oswald took shelter in Ireland, it follows of course that the elders of the Scots, as Bede calls them, to whom that prince applied, were some of the Irish prelates and superior clergy, not indeed of the South but of the North. This is plainly intimated by Bede, who after telling us, that they sent Aedan, accounts for his following the Irish computation of Easter, by observing, that the northern province of the Scots still adhered to it. By *northern province* he evidently meant the North of Ireland; for immediately after he opposes to their practice that of the Scots of the Southern parts of Ireland. And hence we have an additional argument, that the Scots, with whom Oswald was concerned, were those of Ireland. Cressy refers (*Book xv. chap. 3.*) the *northern province* to the Scots of North Britain, among whom he thought that Oswald spent his exile. But he might have observed that, when Bede speaks of the British Scots, he usually calls them the Scots in Britain or who inhabit Britain (See *L. 1. c. 34.*) Cressy argues from Bede's stating, (*L. 3. c. 1.*) that the sons of Aedilfrid, of whom Oswald was one, and many young noblemen, had been in exile among the Scots or Picts. Yet this may be well understood of some of those exiles having taken shelter in Ireland, and others in Pictland. This, however, is a question of little importance, and the reader may chuse for himself between Maihew and Cressy.

(99) Bede (*L. 3. c. 5.*) details a report (*ferunt*) concerning there having been a bishop sent to Oswald before the mission of Aedan. He does not mention his name; but Hector Boethius (poor authority) calls him *Corman*, alluding, I suppose, to a confused account (See *AA. SS. p. 335.*) of a bishop Corman, Connan or Conran, whom some Scotch writers pretend to have been one of those named in the Roman letter above treated of, as if said letter had been written to persons living in the modern Scotland. The report goes on to state, that this bishop being of rather

an austere disposition, was not willingly heard by the people, and, finding that he was doing no good among them, returned to his own country, (not monastery, as Mr. Lingard has, *loc. cit.*) and announced at a meeting of the elders, that his failure was owing to the untractable, rough, and barbarous disposition of that nation. A consultation was then held to determine on what should be done; for the assembled clergy, while sorry for the ill success of the missionary, wished to contribute to the salvation of the Northumbrians. Aedan, who was present, then addressed the returned bishop in this manner; "I think, brother, that you have been too hard towards your unlearned auditors, and have not first offered them the milk of gentler doctrine according to the apostolic discipline, until, when nourished with the word of God, they might be able to comprehend and observe the more sublime precepts." On hearing these words all eyes were turned on Aedan, and it being unanimously agreed that he was a proper person for that mission, he was consecrated bishop and sent to preach in Northumberland.

(100) Lloyd (*Church government*, chap. 5.) and others suppose, that Aedan was consecrated in Hy. This is indeed very probable; and we know that a bishop resided in the island, (see *Not.* 234 to *Chap.* xii.) by whom he might have been consecrated. To this supposition they add, that the monks of Hy were the persons applied to for a bishop by Oswald, and that it was by them that Aedan was sent. But, although it is certain that the superiors of Hy had a share in this transaction, whereas Aedan could not have been made a bishop without the consent of his abbot, then Segeniús, it does not follow that they were the only persons concerned in it. For by those *elders of the Scots*, among whom Oswald had lived, Bede could not have understood the monks or superiors of Hy alone, unless we should suppose, what cannot be admitted, viz. that he and his followers had spent their exile in that very island. Therefore among said elders there were some prelates and dignified clergymen besides the abbot and heads of that monastery. Bede's saying (*L.* 3. c. 5.) that Aedan was sent from Hy and from its monastery; "*Ab hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad provinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Aedan, accepto gradu episcopatus*"; proves no more than that he was chosen out of that monastery. Nor does Bede

state, that he was appointed by the abbot; but, on the contrary, merely observes that his election and consecration occurred in the time of Segenius's administration. In another place (*L. 5. c. 22.*) Bede says, that the monks of Hy had sent Aedan to preach to the English; which indeed is true, inasmuch as they had taken a part in that business, and Aedan belonged to their body; but this does not exclude the interference and cooperation of those prelates, &c. to whom he most clearly alludes in *L. 3. c. 3.* and particularly, *c. 5.* (See *Not. prec.*)

(101) This is clear from the *Annals of Roscrea*, *ad A. 650* (651), and the calendars of Cashel, Donegall, and Tamlacht or Tallagh, at 31 August (the day of Aedan's death), in which he is spoken of as an Irishman, and bishop in England. (See *AA. SS. p. 47.*) It is well known, that the great majority of the monks of Hy in those days were from Ireland, and that the abbots and other superiors of that monastery were, for five or six centuries after the death of Columbkil, constantly chosen from among the Irish; and hence we find the names and deaths of the abbots and other distinguished men of Hy as regularly marked in the Irish annals, &c. as those of the members of any religious establishment existing in Ireland. (See *Tr. Th. p. 498. seqq.* and *AA. SS. p. 48.*) Now Aedan was undoubtedly, although not abbot, one of the superiors of Hy, as appears from his having had a place in the council among the elders. (Above, *Not. 99.*) Camden, accordingly (at *Ireland, Gen. Treatise*) makes him a native of Ireland; and both he and Usher, Ware, Fleury, and all those, who have studied these subjects impartially, speak of the illustrious missionaries, who preached to the English in the 7th century, under the general denomination of Irish. The British Scots were not at that time sufficiently settled to attend to sacred or other studies, and they received their chief clergymen and teachers either from Hy or from the Columbian monasteries of Ireland. Mr. Lingard would have done well in his short sketch of the proceedings of those missionaries to have explained what he meant by the name of *Scottish monks*, as he usually calls them, *ex. c. ch. i. and iv.* He should have let the reader know, that those Scots or Scottish monks, so often mentioned by Bede, were the Irish Scots; a precaution, which he might have found frequently observed by Fleury, when treating of these parts of Ecclesiastical history.

(102) Maihew, having laid down (*Life*, &c.) that Aedan was a native of Ireland, thought that he was the Aidan, son of Liber, who was a monk of Hy in Columbkil's time, and is mentioned by Adamnan (*L. 3. c. 6.*) as a religious man of good disposition. Colgan (*Tr. Th. p. 386.*) was inclined to be of the same opinion, for which, however, there is no foundation except the mere name *Aedan*, which was exceedingly common in Ireland. Besides its being hard to believe, that a person, who was a monk and grown up man, perhaps, for aught we know, several years before the death of Columbkil, would have been able in 635 to undertake the arduous mission of Northumberland, we may be sure that, if Aidan son of Liber were the same as the bishop, Adamnan would not have omitted this circumstance.

(103) Bede writes; (*L. 3. c. 3.*) "*Exin coepere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam, atque illis Anglorum provinciis, quibus regnavit rex Oswald, magna devotione verbum fidei praedicare.*—*Monachi erant maxime qui ad praedicandum venerant.*" As these preachers came over from the *land of the Scots to Britain*, it is plain that they came from Ireland; for the land of the *British Scots* was itself in Britain; and accordingly Lloyd states (*chap. v. §. 5.*) that these auxiliaries of Aedan "came out of Ireland." Thus also Fleury (*L. 38. §. 19.*) calls them *missionaries Irlandois*.

(104) Bede, *ib.*

§. 13. Aedan had need of many co-operators to assist him in his pious labours. His diocese stretched far to the North into Scotland, and comprized that of York, of which St. Paulinus had been archbishop for six years. (105) But after Edwin, king of Northumberland, the protector of Paulinus, had been killed in 633 fighting against the British king Caedvalla and the Mercian king Penda, Paulinus, to avoid the fury of the conquerors, retired to Kent. (106) Thenceforth all was confusion at York and throughout all the Northumbrian kingdom; and religion suffered extremely. Aedan, on coming into that country, found himself charged not only with the new mission among people, to whom the Gospel had

not yet been preached, but likewise with the care of the church of York, which he and his successors continued to govern for 30 years, without assuming or applying for any title, except that of simple bishop, although they acted in fact as metropolitans. (107) At Lindisfarne Aedan, following the Irish custom, collected around him a monastery, and united the observance of monastic duties with those annexed to his episcopal character. (108) In fulfilling all his obligations he was indefatigable, and "his instructions were well received by every one, because he did not teach otherwise than as he lived with his companions. He neither sought the things of this world, nor cared for them. Whatever he got from kings or wealthy persons he immediately distributed among the poor, that fell in his way. In his journeys here and there he travelled not on horseback, but on foot, except in some case of great necessity, so that, as he went along, he might address those whom he happened to meet, whether rich or poor, and, if infidels, exhort them to embrace the Christian faith, or, if already believers, confirm them in it, and encourage them by words and deeds to almsgiving and the performance of good works. He made it a rule that all those, who accompanied him, whether of the clerical order or not, should be engaged in reading the Scriptures or getting the Psalms by heart. This was a daily occupation of his and theirs, wheresoever they happened to be. And if, what seldom occurred, he accepted of an invitation to the king's table, he took with him only one or two clergymen, and after a short repast hastened away to read with his companions or to pray. From his example religious persons of both sexes adopted the practice of fasting until None (three in the afternoon) on every Wednesday and Friday in the year except between Easter and Whitsuntide. He never overlooked, either through respect or fear, the transgressions

" of the rich, and severely reprimanded them if
 " guilty. He made no presents in money to the
 " powerful, although he used to treat them with ec-
 " clesiastical hospitality, but, on the contrary either
 " gave to the poor, as above mentioned, whatever
 " money he might get from them, or laid it out on
 " the redemption of slaves, several of whom he after-
 " wards instructed and even raised to the priest-
 " hood." (109)

(105) *Id. L. 2. c. 14.*

(106) *Ib. cap. 20.*

(107) Simeon of Durham writes; (*Epist. ad Hug. de archiepiscopis Ebor*, in Twysden's *Scriptores* x.) "Recedente Paulino, Eboracensis ecclesia per xxx annos proprium non habuit episcopum: sed Lindisfarnensis, ecclesiae praesules, Aidanus, Finanus, Colmannus, et Tuda, Nordanhimbrorum provinciae administrarunt pontificatum." Eddius Stephanus (*Life of Wilfrid*, cap. 10. in Gale's xv. *Scriptores*) calls Colman *metropolitan* bishop of York; and he would have so styled his predecessors, if occasion required. See more in Usher, p. 78.

(108) "Aidan quippe, qui primus ejusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat et monachicam cum suis omnibus vitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut, regente monasterium abbate quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, caeterique gradus ecclesiastici monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam servent." Bede, *Vit. S. Cudberti*, cap. 16.

(109) Bede, *Hist. Eccl. L. 3. c. 5.*

§. xiv. Such was Aedan, and such was the manner in which the Almighty made use of his ministry to convert the Northumbrians, and to establish Christianity on a firm footing in that extensive country. To what a degree of religious perfection king Oswald attained through his instructions and example, it is not my province to relate, (110) or to give an account of the veneration, in which he was held both by him and the pious prince Oswin. (111) The

only part of Aedan's conduct, with which any fault could be found, was his adhesion to the Irish Paschal computation ; (112) yet he was not disturbed in the observance of it. " because every one knew that, " although he could not keep Easter contrary to the practice of those who sent him, he diligently fulfilled every Christian duty like all other saints, and " accordingly was justly beloved by all, even by " those who differed from him on that point, and was " held in veneration not only by the people at large " but likewise by the bishops Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Angles." (113) This great saint died on the 31st of August, A. D. 651, in the 17th year of his episcopacy. (114) Some writings have been attributed to him rather, I think, on conjecture than on good authority. (115) Aedan was succeeded in the see of Lindisfarne by Finan, who also had been a monk of Hy, and, being consecrated bishop, was sent from that monastery to fill Aedan's place. (116) Finding Lindisfarne without a church sufficiently respectable for the see, which the exertions of Aedan had raised to such a pitch of eminence, Finian erected a suitable cathedral, not however of stone, but, according to the Irish fashion, of oak, and covered with reeds. Soon after his arrival the Paschal question was again revived, owing to some persons, who had come from Kent or France, and who asserted that the Irish computation differed from that of the universal church. Among these was an ardent abettor of the more general practice, Ronan an Irishman, who had learned the true Paschal method in France or Italy, and who, while he brought over several persons to his system, was not able to convince Finan, but rather by his reproofs rendered him more obstinate. (117) The deacon Jacob, whom Paulinus had left at York, used to observe the Roman Easter together with such persons as he had influence over. Also the queen Eanfled, who had lived in Kent, and who had with her a Kentish priest,

named Romanus, followed it, while the king Oswiu celebrated the Irish Easter; and it is said to have sometimes happened that, while the king, bishop, &c. were enjoying the Paschal festivity, the other party were still fasting the Lent. (118)

(110) See Bede, *L. 3. c. 6—9. seqq.* (111) See *ib. cap. 14.*

(112) Bede, having related various miracles wrought by Aedan, and described him in the highest terms possible as a model for Christian bishops, and as a man that observed every injunction prescribed in the holy scriptures, says (*ib. cap. 17.*) that he cannot approve of his conduct as to the Paschal system. Then apologizing for it he observes, among other things, that Aedan in the celebration of his Easter had no other object in view than what the whole church had, viz. the redemption of mankind by the passion, resurrection, &c. of our Saviour, and that he did not, as some falsely imagined, keep that festival on any day of the week along with the Jews, but always on a Sunday in commemoration of the resurrection.

(113) Bede *L. 3. c. 25.* Ledwich, in his ravings concerning the Culdees, endeavours (*Antiq. p. 64.*) to represent Aedan as not in communion with the Roman prelates, and throws out a malignant charge against Bede's veracity. What impudence! Ledwich to impute lies to such a man as Bede!!! Yet he had read Lloyd, who (*Church, &c. ch. v. §. 5.*) proves from Bede, and particularly from the circumstance of Aedan's having been held in veneration by Honorius and Felix, that he was in communion with the bishops that came from Rome. Ledwich says that one of Aedan's reasons for choosing Lindisfarne for his see was, that, had he fixed upon York, he would have acquiesced in the decision of the Roman pontiff, contrary to the system of the Irish hierarchy. For Paulinus, who came from Rome, had been bishop of that city, and thus York was a Roman see. Now a writer of common honesty would, if inquiring into the reason of Aedan's not settling himself at York, which had been abandoned by Paulinus, have observed that Aedan perhaps thought it improper to reside there, while Paulinus was still alive; although it may be said, that he need not have had any scruple on that score, as Paulinus was actually bishop of Rochester since about two years before Aedan went to Northumberland. (See

Bede, *L. 2. c. 20.*) Had Paulinus returned to York, we may be sure that Aedan would have willingly given up to him the care of his diocese; but, as he did not, Aedan was under the necessity of taking care of it. Whether he had, or not, any such consideration in view, it is easy to account for his having fixed on Lindisfarne, it being a much more retired place than York, and better suited to a monastic establishment. Ledwich says, that Oswald took no notice of Paulinus, being "no admirer of Roman innovations." It may be that Oswald was not inclined to invite Paulinus to return to York, whereas he was attached to the family of Edwin, (*Bede ib.*) during whose whole reign Oswald, and his brothers and friends, were obliged to live in exile. (*L. 3. c. 1.*) To talk of *Roman innovations* in this case is ridiculous. If Oswald had been considered as an opponent of the Roman missionaries and practices, how could it have come to pass, that he has been held by Bede, and all the abettors of the Romans, as one of the greatest English saints; that so many miracles have been attributed to his reliques; (*L. 3. c. 2. seqq.*) and that his festival was, from a very ancient period, kept in England on the 5th of August? (See Bede, *L. 4. c. 14.* and Smith's note.)

(114) Bede, *L. 3. c. 14.* and 17. He says of Aedan; "de seculo ablatu, perpetua laborum suorum a Domino præmia recepit." And in the Life of St. Cudbert (*cap. 4.*) he tells us that Cudbert, when young, saw Aedan's soul wafted by Angels to heaven. How will the Doctor reconcile this opinion of the Romanists, as he is pleased to call them, concerning Aedan's sanctity and eternal happiness with his Culdee vagaries? Does he think they would have placed in heaven a man, who was not in communion with Rome? Aedan's name is in the Roman martyrology at 31 August.

(115) See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Aedan*. Bale, quoted by Harris, makes mention of Commentaries on the Scriptures, Homilies, &c. as written by Aedan. If there be no better authority for them than that of such a notorious liar, we may safely conclude that they have not existed. I do not know where Harris found, that Bede mentions some *Fragments of conferences* by Aedan.

(116) Bede says; (*L. 3. c. 17.*) "Successit vero ei in episcopatum Finan, et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio

destinatus:" and (*cap.* 25.) " *Interea Aidano episcopo de hac vita sublato, Finian pro illo gradum episcopatus, a Scottis ordinatus ac missus, acceperat.*"

(117) Ronan (says Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*) " *nequaquam Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi, acerbierem castigando et apertum veritatis adversarium reddidit.*" It is not easy to determine, whether by the *man of ferocious or rough mind* Bede meant Finan or Ronan. The context seems to favour an allusion to the former; but the phrase *castigando*, used by him to denote Ronan's mode of arguing, a mode very unbecoming towards a bishop, might incline one to think that he alluded to Ronan, who appears to have been a very noisy and sharp (*acerimus*) disputant. It is hard to believe that the Scoto-Irish prelates and clergy, who had sent Finan, would have fixed upon him were he a man of rough disposition, particularly after having experienced the advantage of choosing a person of a mild character. (See above *Not.* 99.) Colgan says, (*AA. SS. p. 45.*) that this Ronan was revered in Brittany. I am afraid that he has confounded him with St. Renan, of whom see *Chap. ix. §. 12.*

(118) Bede, *L. 3. c. 25.*

§. xv. Notwithstanding this diversity, which was justly considered, a great inconvenience, there was no breach of communion, nor did Finan disturb those, who preferred the Roman computation. This prelate had the happiness to baptize Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, and son of Penda the pagan king of the Mercians. Peada had come to the court of the Northumbrian king Oswin for the purpose of obtaining in marriage his daughter the princess Alchfleda. But, as his proposal would not be agreed to, unless he and his subjects should become Christians, he listened to the word of God, and was so convinced of the truth, that he declared himself willing to become one, even should the princess be not given to him. Accordingly Peada was, together with all his companions and suite, baptized by Finan in the year 658, and, having got from him four

learned and worthy priests for the instruction of his subjects, returned with joy to his own country. Those priests were Cedd, Add, Betti, and Diuma, the three former English, and the last an Irishman. (119) They preached with great success to the Middle-Angles, and the number of converts was so great among that people, that about two years after it was deemed expedient to give them a bishop. Diuma, just mentioned, was chosen for this purpose, and being consecrated by Finan, was placed over not only the province of the Middle-Angles, but likewise the kingdom of Mercia, which had lately fallen under the dominion of Oswin. During the short time that he lived Diuma acquired a great flock for the Lord, and was succeeded by Ceollach or Kellach, also a Scot or Irishman, who soon after returned to Hy (120) and had for his successor Trumheri an Englishman, who had been instructed and ordained bishop by the Irish. (121) Finan was also fortunate enough to baptize Sigberet, king of the East Saxons. This nation, having expelled the bishop Mellitus, had returned to idolatry; but their king Sigberet, being a friend of Oswin, and in the habit of visiting him, was induced by this zealous sovereign to embrace the Christian religion; and his example was followed by his friends and attendants, who were with him on one of those visits in Northumberland. They were all baptized by Finan in one of Oswin's residences, the same in which he had baptized Peada. Sigberet, returning to his kingdom, took along with him Cedd above mentioned and another priest, who, perambulating the whole territory of the East Saxons, converted a great number of persons. Some time after Cedd had occasion to return to his own country, and waited upon Finan of Lindisfarne, who, on being informed of the great progress of the Gospel among the East Saxons, appointed him bishop for that nation, and consecrated him with the assistance of two

bishops whom he had sent for. (122) Finan is called in the Irish annals and calendars son of Rimed and styled bishop in Saxony (England); and they assign his death to A. D. 659, *i. e.* 660. (123) According to another account it would seem, that he died in 661 (124) His memory was revered in England on the 17th of February, and in Ireland on the 9th of January, neither of which seems to have been the day of his death. (125) A treatise on the Paschal rite has been attributed to him, but on authority not worthy of credit. (126) Finan was succeeded at Lindisfarne by Colman, of whom and the further state of the Paschal question we shall see lower down.

(119) *Ib. cap. 21.* Mr. Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon, &c. ch. 1.*) calls them four Northumbrian priests, although Bede expressly states, that Diuna was not a Northumbrian or Englishman. Nor does he say a word about the part that Finan had in the conversion of Peada, or of his having supplied him with these priests; nor does he even vouchsafe to mention his name. This gentleman studiously avoids mentioning the Irish missionaries, who have been of such service to his country, and slurs over, in a desultory superficial manner, every thing that might indicate the great obligations, that England is under in this respect to Ireland. Diuna was, in all probability, one of those missionaries, who had gone over from Ireland to assist Aedan in his Northumbrian mission.

(120) Bede, *ib.* His saying that Ceollach returned to Hy shows, that he had come from that monastery. Elsewhere (*ib. cap. 24.*) he says that Ceollach *ad Scottiam rediit*, meaning Ireland, of which he considered Hy as an appendage, inasmuch as it was inhabited by Irish monks. It seems, however, that Bede's meaning in this passage was, that Ceollach, although he stopped for a while at Hy, returned to Ireland itself, whence he had originally come. By *Scottia* he certainly did not allude to the territory of the British Scots, which he never calls by that name, while he uses *Scottia*, indiscriminately with *Hibernia*, for Ireland.

See *ex. a. L. 2. c. 4. L. 3. c. 25. 26. and L. 4. c. 4-26.* Colgan treats of Ceallach, *AA. SS. ad 14 Febr.*

(121) Bede, *L. 3. c. 21. and 24.*

(122) *Ib. cap. 22.*

(123) Acts of Finan at 9 *Januar.* Colgan there refers to the Annals of Clonmacnois, Roscrea, 4 Masters, &c. &c. Nothing further is wanting to show, that Finian was a native of Ireland; for, had he not been so, why should our annalists have troubled themselves about him? It may also be observed that this follows likewise from his having been one of the chief monks of Hy; for we may be sure, that otherwise he would not have been raised to the prelacy and see of Lindisfarne. (Compare with *Not. 101.*) Add that Finian was from the same country with his successor Colman, who, as will be seen, was undoubtedly an Irishman.

(124) Bede having given us to understand, that Aedan died in 651, says (*L. 3. c. 26.*) that Finian, his successor, held the see for ten years. This, if strictly understood, would bring us to 661. But, if these years be taken not as complete, and supposing that Finian died in a late part of the year, or that Bede reckoned under Finian's incumbency the whole time that elapsed until his successor Colman got possession of the see, Bede's notation, and the date of the Irish annalists will perhaps be found to be exactly the same.

(125) Colgan at *Finan's Acts.*

(126) It is that of the impostor Bale, who has been copied by others. Instead of *Bale*, we find *Bede* in the English translation of Ware's *Writers (at Finan)*. This is a typographical error, and has been avoided by Harris.

CHAP XVI.

St. Gall erects the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland—St. Columbanus used to offer the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels—Gallus apprized in a vision of the death of St. Columbanus, and celebrates mass in commemoration of him—Gallus recommended to be chosen bishop of Constance, but declines the honour and proposes his disciple John, who is thereupon chosen—Gallus invited to become abbot of Luxeu after the death of Eustatius, but declines the invitation—Death of Gallus or St. Gall—St. Deicolus or Dichuill brother of St. Gall and a disciple of St. Columbanus, erects two oratories at Luthra now Lure—Is visited by king Clotharius II. who bestows him land on which he builds a monastery—After some time retires from the monastery and dies—He is called by the people of that country St. Die, and is held in high estimation—Caidoc and Tricor, two Irish priests distinguished for their sanctity at Ponthieu in Picardy—Tricor changed his name to Adrian—Both became monks in the monastery of Centula, and there died and were buried—Account of Rantic, Quilian or Kilian, Chillen Fiacre and other Irish missionaries, who flourished and became famous in the Continent—Account of St. Fursa or Fursey—His labours in Ireland, England and France, in which latter country he died and was interred—Foillan and Ultan, brothers of Fursey, go to Brabant, together with some other Irishmen, upon the invitation of St. Gertrude abbess of Nivelles—They erect monasteries and die—The Martyr St. Livin a native of Ireland—Left Ireland, and with three companions went into Belgium—His labours in converting the Pagan inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant—Is murdered by a multitude of Pagans—The Holy

Virgin Dymna flies to the Continent from her father, a Pagan, who wishes to marry her—Is murdered by him—St. Fridolin the traveller—Founds several churches and monasteries in the Continent—Several other Irish Saints who illustrated France and Belgium by their piety and zeal—St. Madelgar or Maldegar, surnamed Vincent, an Irishman—St. Florentinus an Irish Priest—Roding an Irishman, vulgarly called Rouin.

SECT. I.

WHILE the Irish missionaries were thus employed in England, other holy men, also natives of Ireland, were instructing and edifying by their example the inhabitants of various parts of the Continent. We have left Gallus at Bregentz in 612, (1) who not liking to remain there, returned, while still sick, to his friend the priest Willimar at Arbona, (2) who provided him with a habitation, and, entrusting him to the care of two of his clerks Magnoald and Theodore, supplied him with every thing necessary, so that in the course of some time he was perfectly restored to his health. (3) Wishing to retire to a solitary place, he applied to Heltibold, a deacon under Willimar, who was well acquainted with every part of that country, and with his assistance fixed upon a spot for that purpose near the little river Steinaha (Stinace) (4) where now stands the town and abbey of St. Gall. The saint consecrated his retreat by a fast of three days, and there led an almost solitary life. Some time after he erected an oratory with some small habitations annexed for twelve monks, whom he instructed with great care. (5) It is related that Gallus expelled an evil spirit from Fridiburga, the daughter of Gunzo duke of that country, who had been betrothed to Sigebert king of Austrasia. It is added that, being after her

recovery conducted by her father to Metz, where Sigebert resided, and having related how and by whom she had been cured, the king made a grant to the saint of the place where he lived, and sent him some presents. (6) Meanwhile Fridiburga, grateful to God for her recovery, and having been advised by St. Gallus, secretly took the veil at Metz at the very time that her marriage with Sigebert was expected every moment ; which, so far from being offended at, he highly approved of. (7) Sigebert had sent to Fridiburga, before she set out for Metz, some valuable presents, which her father made over to Gallus. The saint brought them to Arbona, and there began to distribute them among the poor. Among them was an elegant silver cup, which Magnoald above mentioned, and now a disciple of Gallus, wished to reserve for the use of the altar. But Gallus ordered it also to be given away, saying that he remembered the words of St. Peter ; *silver and gold I have none* ; and that his master Columbanus was wont to offer the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels, because our Saviour is said to have been affixed to the cross with nails of brass. (8)

(1) Chap. XIII. §. 12.

(2) See Chap. XIII. §. 10.

(3) Walafr. Strab. *Vita S. G. L.* 1. cap. 8. In a Life of St. Magnoald, *alias* Magnus, published by Canisius, *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5. al. 1.* and by Messingham in his *Florilegium*, and written by an impostor, (as Mabillon says, *Annal. Bened. ad. A.* 646.) who assumed the name of Theodore, Willimar's two clerks, Magnoald and Theodore, are represented as having been disciples of St. Columbanus, and left by him at Bregentz to take care of Gallus. But Walafrid positively states, that they belonged to Willimar's church. In that same silly Life Magnoald is said to have been a native of Ireland ; for which there is no more foundation than for Theodore also having been one, as stated in the office of St. Gallus in Burke's *Officia propria*, &c. They were neither Irishmen nor disciples of St. Columbanus ; but they became dis-

ciples of Gallus, particularly Magnoald, who is often mentioned by Walafrid.

(4) Walafr. Strab. *L. 1. cap. 10.*

(5) *Ib. cap. 25.* It is said in the Life of Magnoald or Magnus (*cap. xi.*) that Gallus and Magnus constructed a monastery of wonderful magnitude; and hence, I suppose, has been derived what we find in the Office of Gallus concerning his having presided over 400 monks. The author of that Life confounded the foundation of the saint's small establishment with that of the great monastery erected on the site of it about a hundred years later, viz. in 720, and of which Othmar was the first abbot. (See Fleury, *L. 42. §. 54.*) That he did so confound them appears from his placing there Othmar together with Gallus and Magnus.

(6) Walafrid gives a long account of this transaction. He calls Sigebert son of Theodoric, and represents the recovery of Fridiburga as having occurred not many days after Gallus had fixed upon his retreat, and before he erected his cell and oratory. But this narrative cannot apply to the Sigebert son of Theodoric, who was only a boy when he succeeded his father in 613, and was very soon after put to death by Clotharius II. Nor can it be referred to Sigebert III. whom his father Dagobert made king of Austrasia in 632, when scarcely two years old. For he was too young to be married during the life time of Gallus. Mabillon observes (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 613*) that the truth of the whole narrative is deservedly doubted, and that it is rejected as fabulous by Valerius; but adds, that it may perhaps have some reference to Sigebert, king of the East Angles, who had lived for some time in France during the early part of the 7th century. (See Bede, *L. 3. c. 18.*) This conjecture cannot suit any part of Walafrid's account, and it is plain that he, or whoever he got it from, alluded to Sigebert son of Theodoric. The time referred to is that of his short reign in 613, the very year in which Gallus retired to the spot near the river Strinaha. The mention of a grant of that place to the saint shows that the Sigebert meant was a king of Austrasia. There are other inconsistencies in Walafrid's narrative, which it would not be worth while to enlarge upon; and I cannot but suspect that it is a fabricated story. Yet, as it has been often repeated, I give it as I found it.

(7) Walafr. *L. 1. cap. 21.*

(8) *Ib. cap. 18.*

§. II. Gallus was apprized in a vision of the death of St. Columbanus, which was in 615, and immediately celebrated mass in commemoration of him. He then sent Magnoald, by this time a deacon, to Bobbio, to inquire about the circumstances connected with it, and gave him directions to mark the day and the hour, in which Columbanus expired, so that he might be able to verify the truth of his vision. Magnoald, on his arrival there, found that every thing had occurred in the manner revealed to Gallus, and returning brought a letter to him from the brethren of Bobbio and a staff bequeathed to him by Columbanus. (9) The see of Constance happening to be vacant, some prelates and the clergy of the diocese had assembled to elect a bishop. The duke Gunzo invited Gallus to attend the meeting, who accordingly went to Constance, accompanied by the two deacons John and Magnoald. John had studied to great advantage for three years under Gallus. The duke having addressed the bishops and the clergy, and exhorted them to choose a proper pastor according to the canons, all the clergy fixed their eyes on Gallus, and unanimously agreed that, considering his superior knowledge of the holy scriptures, his wisdom, humility, charity towards the poor, and singular sanctity, he was the person fittest to be chosen bishop. The duke then said to Gallus; "Do you hear what they are saying?" He replied; "I wish what they say were true; but they do not know that the canons do not easily (without some very urgent cause) allow strangers to be ordained bishops of districts, which they are not natives of. I have a deacon, named John, a native of this neighbourhood, to whom every thing, that has been stated of me, may be justly applied; and, as I think him elected by the divine judgment, I propose him to you as your bishop." John was then called, and, being asked would he be able to undergo the burden of the episcopacy, took an opportunity of withdrawing from

the assembly, and concealed himself in a church of St. Stephen without the town. Thither he was pursued by the clergy and people, and, as Gallus had vouched for his capability, was brought by force into the presence of the bishops, and being elected by acclamation, was immediately consecrated. He then was asked to celebrate mass, and after the reading of the Gospel Gallus was requested to preach. He did so, and delivered a most excellent discourse, which is still extant. (10) Gallus remained seven days with John directing him in the mode of governing his diocese, and then returned to his cell, not ceasing thenceforth to assist him with his counsels, and receiving from him every mark of attention. (11)

(9) *Ib. cap. 25.* Walafrid says that the staff was the token the absolution granted by St. Columbanus to Gallus. For, as we have seen, (*Not. 52. to Chap. XIII.*) he has a story about his having been suspended from officiating at the altar by Columbanus until after his death. But, had he been thus suspended, would he not have waited to celebrate mass in commemoration of Columbanus until after the return of Magnoald from Bobbio and the verification of the vision. The whole business comes to this, that St. Columbanus bequeathed to him, as a mark of affection and brotherhood, that staff, which, says Walafrid, was commonly called *Cambota*. We find this name often used for a bishop's pastoral staff. The abbatical power was sometimes conferred by means of it. (See Ducange at *Cambota*.) Perhaps Columbanus meant to communicate to Gallus the right of governing a community.

(10) It was first published by Canisius, *Tom. 5. Antig. Lect.* and thence by Messingham. It is an abridged history of religion, very well written and intermixed with moral observations, from the creation down to the preaching of the apostles. It corresponds exactly to the summary given of Gallus' discourse at Constance by Walafrid, *L. 1. cap. 24.* I am surprized that Ware doubted (*Writers at Gallus*) of its having been different from a discourse on the form of Church government also by Gallus, which, according to Possevin, is in the library of the monastery

of St. Gall. Besides Possevin's stating that they are distinct works, the discourse published by Canisius cannot by any means be considered as a tract on Church government, as its object and tenor are of a very different nature.

(11) Walafrid relates all these proceedings at considerable length. They could not have occurred before 616; for John had been a disciple of Gallus during three years. (See *L. 1. cap. 22.*) Now he did not become so until some time after Gallus had withdrawn from Arbona to his retreat, (see *cap. 14 and 19.*) and consequently, at the earliest, until 613. Therefore Walafrid is evidently wrong in placing these transactions before the death of St. Columbanus in 615.

§. III. Eustasius abbot of Luxeu having died in 625, (12) the monks of that monastery determined on electing Gallus as his successor, and sent a deputation of six members of their community, all Irishmen, to request that he would undertake the government of Luxeu. Having read the letter of invitation he said that, having abandoned his relatives and acquaintance, chosen a solitude for his dwelling place, and refused a bishopric, he could not think of being raised to any rank, which might involve him in the cares of this world. He detained them for some days, treating them with great civility, but positively refused to quit his retreat. I find nothing further concerning the transactions of this holy man until a short time before his death, when in compliance with the pressing request of the priest Willimar he went to Arbona and preached there on a day of solemnity. He was soon after taken ill of a fever, under which he laboured fourteen days, and died, at the age of 95 years, on the 16th of October (13) about A. D. 645. (14) He was buried in the place of his retreat, and his memory was revered there in a church, which was constantly attended by some religious persons, who had a priest for their superior, and much frequented by pilgrims and people, who wished to obtain favours from God through the in-

tercession of the saint. This establishment was afterwards changed into a great monastery, of which a holy priest named Othmar was the first abbot. (15) Besides one or two sermons, (16) St. Gallus is said to have left some other tracts. (17) That he was an assiduous preacher of the Gospel is well known; and his exertions both in that line, and in forming disciples capable of instructing the people, were such that he has been called the apostle of the Alemanni or Suevi. (18)

(12) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 625*. Fleury, *L. 37. §. 27*.

(13) Walafr. *L. 1. cap. 28*.

(14) This is the year marked in the Office of Gallus. Mabillon makes mention of his death under A. 646, although he was not certain that this was the precise year of it. Were we to believe the author of the Life of Magnoald, Gallus would have died in 625; for he places it in the tenth year after the return of Magnoald from Italy, and therefore about ten years after the death of St. Columbanus in 615. Even Walafrid comes near to the same point, where he states (*L. 1. cap. 28.*) that the last illness of Gallus seized him not long after the invitation (in 625) to Luxeu. But how, says Mabillon, can this be reconciled with his having lived to the age of 95 years? Is it to be supposed that, were he so old in 625, the monks of Luxeu would have looked to him in that year as their abbot? Omitting other considerations, I shall merely add that, if Gallus died in 625, he would have been 85 years old in 615, and consequently then older than his master Columbanus, who does not appear to have lived beyond the age of about 75. (See *Not. 69 to Chap. XIII.*) Now it is clear from Walafrid *passim* (*ex. c. cap. 1.*) that Gallus was several years younger than Columbanus. Either then Gallus did not live to the age of 95; or, if he did, he must have been alive long after 625. Usher, following the pretended Theodore, author of the Life of Magnoald, (not Gallus, as he says) assigns (*Ind. Chron.*) the death of Gallus to 625. Ware (*Writers at Gallus*) adds, that some place it in 635. For this I believe he had no better authority than a typographical error in *AA. 98. p. 126*, where 635 appears for the death of Gallus instead of 625, which

Colgan must have intended to mark, whereas he quotes for it the same Theodore.

(15) Walafr. *L. 2. c. 10.* (compare with *Not. 5.*) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 646*) that even before Othmar's time the church, &c. of St. Gallus was sometimes called *monastery*.

(16) See *Not. 10.*

(17) Ware and Harris, *Writers at Gallus*. It is odd that Dupin makes no mention of this saint's writings. A short letter of one Gallus has been published by Canisius, *Antiq. Lect. Tom. 5.* or, in Basnage's edition, *Tom. 1. p. 650.* It is addressed to Desiderius, who was bishop of Cahors between 629 and 630. Usher republished it (*Sylog. Ep. Hib. No. 10.*) under the name of our Gallus. But Basnage (*Not. ib.*) justly observes, that it was written by a Gallus bishop of Clermont. The writer speaks of Marseilles, Cahors, and Rutenicum (the district of Rodez), places, which our Gallus had nothing to do with. There can be no doubt of its having been written by the Gallus, who became bishop of Clermont in the year 650 under the name of Gallus the second, and who is marked as the twenty-third bishop of that see. See Sammarthan, *Gallia Christiana, Tom. 2. p. 244.*

(18) In Notker's Martyrology at 18 October it is said that, passing over the multitude of miracles wrought through him before and after his death, it is sufficient to observe, that *Divina pietas beatum Gallum genti Alemanniae apostolum fecit, qui nationem, quam paganismo involutam reperit, fidei veritate imbutam, de tenebris ignorantiae ad solem justitiae, qui Christus est, ipse callis Dei solers viator reduxit, &c."*

§. iv. St. Deicolus or Deicola, in Irish Dichuill, of whom some mention has been made already, (19) was maternal brother of St. Gallus, and, like him, a disciple and follower of St. Columbanus, (20) with whom he remained at Luxeu until his final expulsion from that place in the year 610. (21) Having left Luxeu together with his master, he found himself, after having walked two miles, unable to continue the journey, owing to the weakness of his feet, added to his being then far advanced in years. (22)

He therefore supplicated Columbanus for leave to remain behind, which being granted, he did not run the risk of returning to Luxeu, but went through lonesome places, as well as he was able, until he arrived at a spot, called Luthra in the midst of a forest, now Lure, in the district of Besançon. (23) There he stopped, and as he used to resort to a neighbouring church, was soon taken notice of by the people of that district, particularly by a pious lady named Bertildis, the relict of Weifhar, a lord the country. She made him a grant of some ground at Luthra, on which, religious men flocking to him from various quarters, he formed a community of monks, and erected two oratories, one dedicated to St. Peter and the other to St. Paul. Some time after the king Clotharius II. happening to be in those parts on a hunting excursion, and hearing of Deicolus called upon him. On inquiring whence he came, and how he and his brethren were able to subsist, he found that Deicolus had been a disciple of his friend St. Columbanus, and immediately requested of him to remain where he was, assuring him that his monastery should want for nothing necessary. Accordingly he made over some land to the establishment, so as to enable it to become a considerable monastery. (24) Deicolus, having governed Luthra for several years, and wishing to spend his last days in retirement, resigned the administration, and appointing Columbinus, one of his disciples, (25) abbot in his stead, withdrew to a solitary cell where he devoted his time to divine contemplation. He died on the 16th of January, (26) about the year 625. (27) His memory is still held in high estimation by the people of that country, who call him St. Dié; (28) and his name is marked in a considerable number of martyrologies. (29)

(19) *Not. 5. to Chap. XIII. A Life of Deicolus has been*

published by Bollandus at 18 *Januar.* and again by Colgan, who observes that there were extant four other Lives of this saint, but all less accurate than this one.

(20) The author of Deicolus' Life says (*cap.* 2.) that St. Columbanus had, besides his namesake Columbanus, (see *Not.* 5. to *Chap.* XIII.) as his chief and favourite disciples, "*præcipuos et præ cæteris sibi familiares—geminos uterinos fratres Gallum atque Deicolum.*" In the *Neerologium* of the monastery of St. Gall at 18 *Januar.* Deicolus is called brother of St. Gallus. This is remarked by Mabillon, (*Annal. Ben. ad A.* 625), who adds that this consanguinity is not noticed in the Acts of Deicolus. He must not have seen those published by Bollandus and Colgan.

(21) See *Chap.* XIII. §. 6.

(22) Life, *cap.* 3. Hence Colgan concludes that Deicolus was older than Gallus, who was at that time, and for many years after, vigorous and active.

(23) See Fleury, *L.* 37. §. 27.

(24) Life, *cap.* 5. The author, who lived at a period much later than the times of Deicolus, and when monasteries were richly endowed, represents the grants made to Luthra by Clotharius as much greater than we may be sure they really were. This monastery became gradually possessed of large estates, but not until long after the death of Deicolus. He then tells us, that the saint went to Rome, and, having made his monastery and lands tributary to the Holy see, obtained for it various privileges and exemptions from the interference of kings, &c. This would have been a very strange return for the kindness of Clotharius. These foolish stories are scarcely worth notice. Such deeds of vassalage, monastic privileges, &c. were not known in the days of Deicolus. The author imagined, that because they existed in the tenth century, in which he appears to have lived, the same practices had prevailed at all times.

(25) It is said in the Life, that Columbinus had been baptized by Deicolus. Colgan uses this as an argument to show, that he was a native of Ireland, in the supposition that he was baptized in his infancy. But might not Columbinus have been a Burgundian converted by Deicolus, who in baptizing him gave him that name, and then took him into his monastery? Bollandus also

brings Columbinus from Ireland. Yet the matter is still doubtful.

(26) *Life*, cap. 6.

(27) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A.* 625.

(28) *Fleury*, L. 37. §. 27.

(29) See *A.A. SS.* p. 127. He is particularly praised in Saus-
sai's Gallican martyrology, where we read of him; "In veson-
tionensi territorio, Lutra coenobio, depositio S. Deicolae, disci-
puli S. Columbanus, et primi illius monasterii abbas, viri caelesti
speculatione, virtutum multiplici gloria, ac miraculorum insignium
splendore praeclari."

§. v. In these times two Irish priests, Caidoc and Efricor, (30) were distinguished for their sanctity in the territory of Ponthieu in Picardy. They are said to have gone to France with St. Columbanus, but this can hardly be reconciled with its being stated that their arrival in Ponthieu was in the reign of king Dagobert, and accordingly not earlier than the year 622. (31) Being badly received and ill treated by the rustics of that country they were on the point of being forced to quit it, when a young nobleman, named Richarius, who lived at Centula, now Centule, in Ponthieu, took them under his protection, and bringing them to his house treated them with great respect and attention. He listened to their instructions, and regretting the follies of his past life made a confession of his sins, and became a real penitent. Henceforth they preached freely, and with great success, throughout various parts of Picardy. Efricor changed his name into *Adrian* as more pleasing to his auditors. Meanwhile Richarius was improving in sanctity, and at length, following the advice of his holy directors, determined on retiring from the world. Having distributed a great part of his large property among the poor he founded the celebrated monastery of Centula about, it seems, the year 625. (32) He is said to have visited Rome, accompanied by Caidoc. On their return to Centula Caidoc em-

braced the monastic life in that place, and continuing there until his death was buried within the precincts of the monastery. (33) Fricor also became a monk at Centula and was likewise buried there. (34) At what time either of them died is not known ; but it must have been later than the year 680. (35) Two other Irish missionaries of these times Rantic, or Ranric, and Quilian, or Kilian, are said to have been disciples of St. Columbanus, but I believe without sufficient foundation. They assisted St. Vulganius in preaching to the Morini, the inhabitants of the tract, in which Boulogne is situated, (36) and to others in those parts. Vulganius was himself from Ireland, and is said to have first distinguished himself at Canterbury, and even to have been archbishop there. As to this story, which seems to be founded on Canterbury having been mistaken for some place in Ireland, (37) we may pass it by ; but it is certain, that Vulganius, who is usually called a bishop, distinguished himself as a zealous missionary during part of the seventh century in Belgic Gaul, where his memory is still highly revered. He was alive after 650. (38) The year of his death is not known ; but the day marked for it is the 2d of November. (39) His remains are preserved in the collegiate church of Lens in the diocese of Arras. (40) With regard to Rantic and Quilian I can find nothing further, except that the latter was buried at Montreuil in Picardy, where his relics are held in veneration. (41)

(30) Colgan treats of Caidoc at 24 Jan. and of him and Fricor, *alias*, Adrian together at 31 Mart.

(31) In the Life of St. Richarius of Centula, written by Alcuin, it is said, that during the reign of Dagobert many holy men appeared, among whom Richarius, and that in said times two holy priests, one of whom was Caidoc, came from Ireland to the territory of Ponthieu. Now the reign of Dagobert, even before he became king of all France, did not begin until 622, (see

Abregé, &c. at Clotharius II.) which was about 32 years after the arrival of St. Columbanus in France. Malbrancq (*De Morinis*, L. 2. c. 55.) brings Caidoc and Fricor to France with St. Columbanus in, he adds, the reign of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, meaning Sigebert the husband of Brunehild. Menard says nearly the same; (*Append. ad Martyrol. Benedict.*) but we have seen (*Not. 9. to Chap. XIII.*) that Jonas, whom they followed, was mistaken as to Sigebert. And as to their having accompanied St. Columbanus, if it be true, how is the time to be fixed, at which they stopped in Picardy? Malbrancq seems to say that they settled in that province about the time of St. Columbanus' arrival in France, or, at least, the year 591. This cannot agree with what he tells us himself, that, very soon after their arrival in Picardy, Richarius placed himself under their direction, and that in a short time he became eminent for sanctity. Now it is well known, that Richarius founded the monastery of Centula not very long after he had embraced a penitential life. But this monastery did not exist until about 625. How then can it be supposed, that Richarius was a disciple of Caidoc and Fricor as far back as 591? Perhaps it may be said that they did not go to Picardy until after the dispersion of the monks of Luxeu, and might have stopped there about 611 or 612, when Richarius was a young lad. Mabillon, who thought it probable that they had been disciples of St. Columbanus, as Hariulfas says in his *Chronicle of Centula*, seems to have had some opinion of this sort. (See *Annal. Ben. ad A. 615.*) Yet even that period appears too early; and still remains the difficulty founded on their arrival in Picardy being assigned, in the *Life of Richarius*, to the reign of Dagobert. On the whole it is much more probable, that they were not disciples of Columbanus, and that it was just after their landing in France, as Fleury says, (*L. 37. §. 28.*) that they fell in with Richarius. We may add that Caidoc and Fricor are spoken of, not as monks but as priests, at the time of their undertaking the direction of Richarius.

(32) Fleury, *ib.* Mabillon (at A. 627) says that it was founded not long before Dagobert acquired the kingdom of Neustria after the death of his father Clotharius II. in 628. He states, that Richarius founded it originally on account of Caidoc and Fricor,

and that being there trained by them in monastic discipline he afterwards governed it as abbot.

(33) *AA. SS.* p. 162 and 797. Caidoc's tomb was repaired by Angilbert, who was abbot of Centula in the reign of Charlemagne. He wrote and got inscribed on it, in golden letters, the following epitaph :

Mole sub hac tégitur Caidocus jure sacerdos,
 Scotia quem genuit, Gallica terra tegit.
 Hic, Domini Christi gaudens praecepta secutus,
 Contempsit Patrias mente beatus opes.
 Hinc sibi concrevit centeni copia fructus,
 Et meruit aetherei praemia larga soli.
 Hinc Angilbertus, fretus pietate magistri,
 Et tumulo carmen condidit, et tumulum.

(34) Mabillon at A. 627. See also *AA. SS.* p. 799.

(35) In the Anglican martyrology quoted by Colgan (*ib.*) it is said that they ended their days about 640.

(36) See *Chap. III.* §. 8.

(37) Malbrancq (De Morinis *L. 2. c. 50.*) speaks of Vulganius, as having been instructed by Quirian bishop of Canterbury. Who has ever heard of such a bishop having been there? The name is Irish, being the same as *K'cran*, as is also *Fulgennius*, which is but a Latin inflexion of our *Bolcan*. I suspect that Malbrancq, or rather the author, whom he followed, mistook Canterbury, *Cantuaria*, for Clonmacnois, which had been founded by Kieran, and that Vulganius was probably a member of that monastery, and thence called a disciple of Kieran, inasmuch as he belonged to his establishment and followed his rules. Malbrancq, being led astray by the name, *Cantuaria*, thence concluded that Vulganius was an Englishman. And then, strange to tell, he introduces him as preaching at Canterbury before 569, the year, in which he says, (*ib. cap. 54*) that he went to France; as if there were Englishmen or Angles bishops or priests at Canterbury at that period. Then come some stories of how St. Columbanus, who is confounded with Columbkil, being at Canterbury, made over to Vulganius two of his disciples Rantie and Quilian, and that they together with Vulganius left that city to preach elsewhere.

(38) Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* at 650) makes mention of him as a Scot (Irishman) who is reported to have reigned the see of Canterbury, and with whom Madelgisil is said to have lived at Monstrelet (a place in Ponthieu) after the death of his master St. Fursy, that is, after the year 650. How then could Vulganius have been a preacher before 569, as Malbrancq has laid down?

(39) *AA. SS.* p. 377. Colgan observes, that his death is placed by some writers as late as about 704, while others assign it to a much earlier period.

(40) Mabillon, *ib.* at A. 650. St. Vulganius is reckoned among the Irish spiritual benefactors of Belgium by Verpulaeus, *De propagatione fidei Christianae in Belgio per sanctos ex Hibernia viros.*

(41) Malbrancq, *L. 2. c. 58. AA. SS.* p. 633.

§. vi. The Quilian or Kilian, now spoken of, must not be confounded with Chillen, also Kilian, an Irish bishop of those times, who having been, as it is said, at Rome, stopped on his return at Meaux with the bishop St. Faro, by whom he was kindly received into his monastery, and directed to preach the Gospel in Artois some time after the year 628.

(42) He was in all probability the St. Chillen, whose remains are said to be at Albinicum (Aubigni) in the diocese of Arras, (43) where his memory is revered on the 13th of November. (44) The same St. Faro received also with great benignity the celebrated St. Fiacre, and his companions, but at what precise time is not recorded. (45) It must have been, however, after 628. (46) Fiacre was of an illustrious family in Ireland. (47) Wishing to lead a solitary life he withdrew to France with some followers, and applied to St. Faro, who was fond of the Irish, (48) for some lonesome spot, that might serve him as a retreat from the bustle of the world. The good bishop immediately supplied him with one out of his own patrimony at a place called *Brogillum* (Brenil), and surrounded with forests. Here Fiacre erected a monastery in honour of the Blessed Virgin,

where he used to receive strangers and guests, living himself in a cell apart. Like many other Irish saints, he made it a rule not to admit females into his monastery. His reputation became so great, that from all parts infirm persons used to be brought to him, whom he cured by merely laying hands on them. The precise time of this saint's death is not known; but there can be no doubt of his having lived many years after his retiring to the diocese of Meaux. (49) He is said to have died on an 18th of August; (50) but his festival is kept on the 30th of said month. His remains were deposited in the oratory of Brogillum, which place has constantly continued to be resorted to by pilgrims, even since they were removed to the cathedral of Meaux in 1568 for protection against the fury of the Calvinists. Innumerable miracles are said to have been performed there; and a great number of churches and oratories have been erected in commemoration of St. Fiacre in France where his festival is generally observed. Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but on authority not worth attending to. (51)

(42) St. Faro founded his monastery in a suburb of Meaux about 628, before which year he does not appear to have been a bishop. (Mabillon *ad an.*) He was son to Agneric or Chanerick, the pious nobleman who had entertained St. Columbanus in that city, (see *Chap. XIII. §. 9.*) and brother of St. Fara, (*ib.*) as likewise of Chagnoald a disciple of that saint. (*ib. §. 12.*) who afterwards became bishop of Laon. (Mabillon, *ib.* and Fleury, *L. 97. §. 15.*) As Agneric was of the Burgundian nation, his son Faro is sometimes called *Burgundofaro*, in the same manner as we find his sister under the name of *Burgundofara*. Malbrancq says, (*L. 2. c. 58.*) that Chillen went to preach in Artois about 640. Mabillon, who mentions (at *A. 628*) the circumstance, does not mark the time of it.

(43) Malbrancq, *ib.*

(44) *AA. SS. p. 331.*

(45) Mabillon observes, (*Annal. &c.* ad A. 628) that the dates of Fiacre's transactions are uncertain.

(46) See *Not.* 42.

(47) Hector Boethius and some other Scotch writers have pretended, that he was a son of an Eugene king of the British Scots. This assertion is rejected by all the ecclesiastical historians; and in the very accurate Office of St. Fiacre in the Breviary of Meaux we read; "Fiacrius, qui et Fefrus, in Hibernia, quam veteres Scotiam appellabant, nobilibus parentibus ortu, &c." In Capgrave's Life of Fiacre he is introduced saying to Faro; "Most Rev. father, Ireland, the island of the Scots, has given origin to me and my ancestors." A hymn for his Office, as read in some churches of France, begins with these words, "Lucernae novae specula—Illustratur Hibernia;—Coruscat Meldis insula—Tantae lucis praesentia. Illa misit Fiacrium,—Haec missum habet radium;—Habent commune gaudium,—Haec patrem, illa filium."

(48) This is easily accounted for, considering the obligations that St. Faro's relatives were under to St. Columbanus. See *Not.* 42.

(49) According to Fleury (*L.* 39. §. 30.) he did not die until towards 670. In the Office drawn up by Burke at 30 August (*Officia propr. &c.*) his death is assigned to 630. This is contrary to all probability, and there is good reason to think, that he had scarcely arrived in France by that time. In Fiacre's Life by Capgrave a similar mistake occurs, where it states that he flourished about 622. But surely he did not flourish until after he left Ireland, and that was several years later. Usher is in the opposite extreme, saying that Fiacre flourished in France in 670. *Ind. Chron.*

(50) Life by Capgrave. In Burke's Office the day of his death is said to have been the 30th of August, for no other reason, as far as I know, than that this is the day marked for his festival.

(51) It is that of Dempster. See Ware and Harris, *Writers at Fiacre.*

§. VII. One of the most distinguished Irish saints, who in these times filled England and France with the fame of their virtues, was St. Fursey, (in Irish *Fursa*) concerning whom a great deal has been writ-

ten, and indeed so much that it has served rather to darken than illustrate his history. (52). He was of high birth, (53) as his father was Fintan son of Finnloga king, or prince, of South Munster, (54) and his mother Gelges daughter of Aedhfinn (Hugh the white) prince of Hy-Briun in Connaught, at whose court Fintan is said to have married her unknown to her father. (55) It is related that Aedhfinn, on discovering her marriage, was so displeased with her, that she and her husband were obliged to quit his principality, and to take shelter with St. Brendan of Clonfert, who was then in an island called *Esbren*, (56) and by whom they were received with great kindness, and entertained in the hospice with much care, particularly as St. Brendan was paternal uncle to Fintan. (57) It is added, that Fursey was, very soon after, born in that island, (58) and baptized by St. Brendan. According to this account he must have been born before 577, the year in which St. Brendan died. Then we are told, that he was reared in the island, and when of a proper age, taken into the monastery by St. Brendan, with whom he remained until he established one for himself. (59) This part of the narrative is quite inconsistent with the history of St. Brendan, and is sufficient, independently of other considerations, to show that the whole of it deserves very little credit. (60) This much will be admitted that St. Fursey's parents were the persons above mentioned, and that he might have been born in some part of Connaught, (61) probably in Hy-briun among his mother's relatives. (62) Fintan seems to have returned soon after to Munster, where he took care to have Fursey well educated and instructed by some bishops in religious matters. Having made great progress in piety and learning, he left, when arrived at a certain age, his parents, and for the purpose of acquiring greater perfection repaired to a distant part of Ireland. (63) This was the small island of Inisquin, incorrectly

called *Esbren*, (64) where St. Meldan then governed a monastery, probably the same as that, which had been founded by St. Brendan. (65) Meldan was of the sept of Hua-Cuinn, which possessed the country about Lough Orbsen or Lough Corrib. (66) He was, either as founder, or successor of St. Brendan, abbot of Inisquin about the beginning of the seventh century, and was probably also a bishop. (67)

(52) *Fursey's Acts* were first written by an anonymous writer, whom Bede refers to and follows, *L. 3. c. 19*. Surius thought these were the Acts which he has at 16 January, and which have been republished by Bollandus at same day. This edition is more correct than that of Surius. Yet Bollandus, who was of the same opinion with Surius, observes that they seem to be imperfect. He has added to them a second book on the Miracles of St. Fursey; but from the style and other circumstances it is evident, that this was written by a different author; and Bede speaks of only one book concerning Fursey. Mabillon was therefore right in doubting of its being a part of the original Acts, (*Preface to his edition of them in AA. SS. Ben. Tom. 2. p. 209.*) but agrees with Surius and Bollandus as to the first book being the very tract referred to by Bede. Other Acts of St. Fursey were afterwards compiled; among others those, which have been published by Colgan at 16 *Januar.* in two books, or rather three, as what Bede has concerning Fursey has been added by the author as a third one. These Acts have been also republished by Bollandus; and the author of them was Arnulfus abbot of Lagny, who lived in the eleventh century. (*Mabillon, ib.*) Then comes a very large Life written by James Desmay, Doctor of Sorbonne and Canon of St. Fursey's church of Peronne, in French, and translated into Latin by Eugene O'Gallagher an Irish Franciscan of Louvain. This also, though scarcely worth the trouble, has been published by Colgan at 9 *Febr.* In referring generally to this saint's Acts, the reader will please to recollect that I regularly mean those placed by Colgan under the 16th January.

(53) Bede says of him; (*L. 3. c. 19.*) "*Erat autem vir ille de nobilissima genere Scotorum.*"

(54) Acts of St. Fursey, *L. 1. cap. 1. seqq.* In the MS. copy,

instead of *Fintan* and *Finnloga*, the reading is *Philtan* and *Fundloga*; and hence we find the names thus written by several foreign writers. But all the Irish writers, that treat of Furse, have *Fintan* and *Finnloga*, which as, Colgan observes, were very usual names in Ireland, while *Philtan* and *Fundloga* were unknown in this country. In some Irish Calendars a St. Furse of Conall Murthemahne (now county of Louth) is mentioned and called son of Finnloga. This led to a mistake of supposing that he was the great St. Furse. But Colgan proves from the best authorities, that they were different persons, and joins Keating and the Book of Lecane in deriving our Furse from the line of Loga Laga, a brother of Alill Olum, a celebrated king of Munster. In the *Monologium genealogicum* they are expressly distinguished; the Furse of Louth is mentioned (cap. 25.) as son of Finnloga; the other (cap. 37.) as son of Fintan and grandson of Finnloga. The occurrence of the name, *Finnloga*, in both genealogies gave rise to the mistake. It ought to have been recollected, that this was a very common name in Ireland, and that in the case of Furse of Louth the Finnloga spoken of appears as his father, while in the other Finnloga is named as a grandfather. Add that in Furse's acts, and in the Life by Desmay, Finnloga, the father of Fintan and grandfather of St. Furse, is distinctly represented as a king in Munster. The Furse of Louth lived, according to Colgan's calculation, an hundred years, at least, before the great St. Furse.

(55) Acts, L. 1. c. 4. We have often met with the Hy-briuns of Connaught. The one here meant was Hy-brium Breifne; and Colgan states, that Aedh finn was the ancestor of the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys.

(56) *Ib.* cap. 7. Desmay (cap. 8.) calls it *Elbree*, and, among other stuff, makes Brendan bishop of it. Colgan thought that the island *Esbren* might have been written in a mistake for *Ard-brennin*, or *Ardfert*, in Kerry. But he is more correct in supposing that by *Esbran* was meant *Esbren* or *Orbsen*, by which name Lough Corrib near Galway was anciently called. Instead of island *Esbren* we are to read an island in *Esbren* (*Orbsen*) i. e. Lough Corrib. And, in fact, *Esbren* is called a lake in said Acts, L. 1. cap. 11. There can be no doubt, that the island alluded to is *Inisquin* in Lough Corrib, where St. Brendan is said, having resigned the administration of Clonfert, to have spent the latter part of his life. (See Chap. x. §. 7.)

(57) So the Acts state, but, I am sure, without foundation. Even Colgan could not believe it. This story was seemingly taken from a confusion as to the name *Finnloga*; for St. Brendan was son of a man of that name. And as Fintan's father was also called *Finnloga*, hence the confusion; although Fintan should have been made not nephew but brother to St. Brendan. This, however, would have been too absurd and unchronological. But, without enlarging on this point, it is sufficient to remark with Colgan, that St. Brendan was of the family of Hua Alta, (see *Chap. x. §. 7.*) which was different from that, whence Fintan derived his origin. Yet, as Brendan was a native of Kerry, there might have been some relationship between them.

(58) Acts, *L. 1. cap. 8.* Colgan places Furse's birth at Clonfert, although in this very chapter, which he was commenting upon, it is laid down, that he was born in the place where his parents were entertained by St. Brendan. Now in the preceding chapter the context leads us to suppose, that this was the island. It is true, that Clonfert is there mentioned as a place, where Brendan had erected a monastery. But Brendan is not stated to have been there, when visited by Furse's parents. Desmay, who also mentions Clonfert, says however, (*cap. 9.*) that the island of Elbree, as he calls it, was the place, to which they went for the purpose of taking shelter with Brendan. Colgan himself says, (*AA. SS. p. 94*) that Furse was educated in the island called *Esbren*; if so, he was, following the Acts, born there; for they most clearly exhibit the place of his education as the same with that of his birth. Thus then, if what is related of Furse's parents having been under the protection of St. Brendan were true, the honour of his birth should be given not to Clonfert, but to Inisquin. (See *Not. 56.*)

(59) Acts, *L. 1. Cap. 8—11.*

(60) St. Brendan did not retire to Inisquin until the latter part of his life, and did not live there long enough to see Fintan grow up to manhood and superior of a monastery. For in that case he should have spent there about, at least, 24 years, a greater number than elapsed even from the foundation of his monastery of Clonfert to his death. (See *Not. 110 to Chap. x.*) Then, according to this story, we should suppose that Furse was born, at least, 24 years before the death of St. Brendan, that is, about 553. Now he

lived until, at least, 650. Yet it is not said that he lived to an extraordinary age. Add, that in this supposition Fursey should have been, at least, 80 years old when he went to England; for, as will be seen, he did not arrive there, at the earliest, until 633. It will not be believed, that a man would, at the age of eighty, have left his own country to instruct foreigners. The fact is, that Fursey was probably not born at the time of Brendan's death. Next come various other inconsistencies. Is it to be supposed, that a man and his wife would have been allowed in those days to reside in the precincts of a monastery as long as Fursey's parents are represented to have remained in the island, rearing Fursey, and, as Desmay says, (*cap.* 4.) there bringing into the world his brothers Foillan and Ultan? And what shall we say of what we read in the Acts of the various and delicious viands, with which Brendan treated his guests, and of his riches? The compiler of these stories thought that Brendan was like those abbots of their own time, who lived like princes, and wallowed in wealth.

(61) The strongest and, indeed, only proof, that St. Fursey was a native of Connaught, occurs in his Acts, *L. 1. c.* 21, where Beoan and Meldan, whom he is said to have seen in his vision, are stated to have been of the province, in which he was born. Now Meldan, whose history is sufficiently known, was, as will be soon seen, undoubtedly of the province of Connaught. The passage here referred to is taken, almost *verbatim*, from the *old* Acts, published by Surius, &c. Yet, as it appears in his edition, we should read, not that Fursey was *born* in said province, but that he was *known* there; for instead of *natus fuerat*, we find *notus fuerat*. In Bolland's edition it is indeed *natus*; but Mabillon has *notus*. Thus then the question as to the province of his birth is still doubtful; for the stuff about Esbren cannot be alleged in favour of Connaught.

(62) The account of Aedhfinn's wrath against his daughter is evidently of a poetical and theatrical kind. She was to be burned to death, escapes this punishment in a prodigious manner, flies with her husband to St. Brendan, and after some years is taken again into favour by her father. This story was made up to make it appear, that Fursey was baptized, educated, &c. by

Brendan, and that, because he studied in Inisquin, he had also been born there.

(63) This is the most correct account, of Furse's younger days, that I have been able to collect from the old Acts, which make mention, only in general terms, of his parents, &c. Nothing is said of what part of Ireland they lived in; but the manner, in which his leaving them is spoken of, seems to indicate that it was at a considerable distance from the place, which he went to. After telling us, that he had got an excellent education, &c. in the country where his parents lived, they add; "*Patriam parentesque relinquens sacrae scripturae studiis aliquot vacabat annis.*" It is not meant, that he left Ireland; for it is plain from the sequel, that he only removed to another part of it. Now this was Inisquin. If Furse's parents had continued to reside in Connaught, he would have been still so near them as scarcely to justify the phrase, *leaving his country and parents*. And it is to be observed that, notwithstanding the supposed accident of his having been born in Connaught, Munster is constantly called his *patria* or country. (See Acts, L. 1. c. 13-14.) Deamay says, (*cap.* 4.) that Fintan returned with his family to Munster when Furse was a boy. He adds, indeed, that he left Furse behind him in the island with St. Brendan. This is a part of the story confuted above (*Not.* 60); and we know from the old Acts, that Furse was a grown up young man when he left his father's house and repaired to Inisquin.

(64) See *Not.* 56.

(65) See *Not.* 115 to *Chap.* x. That this was the monastery, to which Furse retired, is plain from all that we have seen about his having been in the island Esbren, i. e. Inisquin. Maguire, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 90.) says that Meldan was the spiritual father of St. Furse. He is called in Furse's Acts (L. 2. c. 16.) a colleague of Furse. The author, wishing to uphold the story of Furse having been a disciple of St. Brendan, did not like to call Meldan his superior. Yet what he says helps to prove, that, at least, he lived in the same monastery with Meldan.

(66) That country is sometimes called Hihh-sen, i. e. Hihh-Orbsen, *sen.* contracted for *Orbsen*.

(67) In the old Acts of Furse Meldan is called *Praesul*; and it is said that his memory was universally respected. See

also those in *AA. SS. L.* 1. c. 21. Colgan, who treats apart of Meldan at 7 Feb. observer, that two Meldans are called bishops by Aengus Kelideus, one of whom seems to have been the Meldan of Inisquin.

§. VIII. Fursey having remained for some years with Meldan erected a monastery for himself at, it is said, a place called Rathmat near Lough Orbsen, (68) which was soon supplied with a considerable number of religious persons. When it was properly established (69) Fursey wished to have some of his relatives instructed there, (70) and accordingly set out for Munster with the intention of inducing them to come to his monastery. (71) When arrived near his paternal residence he was suddenly taken ill, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, (72) where he remained for many hours in such a state as to be supposed at the point of death. During this time he had some extraordinary visions, a detail of which the reader will not expect in this place. (73) Either on this occasion, or not long after, in a subsequent vision, he saw the bishops Beoan and Meldan, whom, on their appearing to him, he thought to be dead. (74) From them Fursey received much instruction, for instance, concerning the dreadful effects of pride and of disobedience to superiors of every description, the duties of ecclesiastics and monks, but particularly as to the nature and heinousness of spiritual and inward sins. They told him, that some glory in what they have received from God, as if they had acquired it by their own labour; others afflict their bodies by abstinence and fasting, and are shocked at the slightest external transgressions, while they think nothing of pride, which drove angels from heaven, nor of avarice through which our first parents lost the bliss of the terrestrial paradise, nor of envy which induced Cain to kill his brother Abel, nor of false testimony, by which our Saviour was condemned; and thus they look upon the

sins, that are the most grievous in the sight of God, as the lightest, and *vice versa*; but those saints added, it is not enough to chastise the body, unless the soul be cured of malice and iniquity; and charity is the root and top of all good works. St. Fursey is said to have had these visions in the year 627, (75) which was probably about two or three years after he had founded the monastery of Rathmat. (76) Henceforth he seems to have resigned the administration of it; for it is said, that he went for a whole year all over Ireland announcing what he had seen and heard in his visions, (77) and that he continued for ten years to preach and exhort the people to repentance. (78) During this interval we find him in Munster; (79) yet it is probable that he preached occasionally in other parts of Ireland.

(68) Acts, L. 1. c. 11. Rathmat is there called an island although stated to be *near* the lake. The author was fond of converting places into islands. Thus he makes even Clonfert an island. Colgan thinks, and with great probability, that Rathmat was the place now called Kill-fursa near Lough Corrib and in the deanery of Annadown. In the Acts *ap. Sur.* Fursey's monastery is mentioned, but without any particular name.

(69) Harris (*Monast.*) is wrong in assigning the foundation of Rathmat to the sixth century. It is clear from the sequel of Fursey's history, that it was not founded until several years after the beginning of the seventh.

(70) In the old Acts after the words quoted above (*Not. 63.*) we read; "Instructusque monasterium in quodam construxit loco, ubi indique religionis confluentibus ad eum viris aliquos etiam parentum suorum pia solitudine evocare curavit."

(71) It is thus the matter is stated in the old Acts. In the later ones his brothers Foillan and Ultan are spoken of as already along with him at Rathmat, and the object of Fursey's journey to Munster is represented as that of seeing his other relatives, and of giving them spiritual instruction. But their authority is not of equal weight with that of the old Acts, according to which none of his relatives appear to have been at Rathmat, before he set

out for Munster. Their statment seems to have been derived from a mis-interpretation of the text of the old Acts. It is true, however, that Fursey, in going to Munster, intended to promote the spiritual welfare of *all* his relatives.

(72) Old Acts. In the other Acts (*cap.* 14.) the illness is said to have fallen upon him just as he was setting out for Munster, and it is added that he was brought back to the monastery. But, as already remarked, the former Acts are far more worthy of credit. Capgrave's *Life of St. Fursey* agrees with them on this point, and so does Fleury, who says, (*L.* 38. §. 28.) that the saint was taken ill after he had returned to his own country for the purpose of converting his relatives, that is, of inducing them to lead a penitential life. Bede, indeed, (*L.* 3. c. 19.) speaks of the illness as having seized him, *in* the monastery, which does not agree with either account. But, as Bede was hastening to relate the visions, he overlooked the detail relative to Fursey's journey.

(73) These and other visions, which Fursey is said to have had afterwards, are related at great length in his Acts. In some other of his lives they are given in a more or less abridged form. Bede (*loc. cit.*) has only a small part of them. He tells us that an old monk, who lived in the same monastery with himself, used to assert, that a very veracious and religious man had informed him that he had seen St. Fursey in the province of the East Angles, and that he heard him relating his visions. I suspect that, taking them as they appear in the Acts, (*ap* Colgan) they have been much amplified.

(74) Acts, *L.* 1. c. 21. Its being said, that Fursey *thought* they were dead, seems to indicate, that they were still alive. Bede, however, speaks of them, without giving their names, as being dead at that time, and so they are represented in the lives by Capgrave and Desmay, with whom Colgan agrees. Of Meldan we have seen above. Beoan also is called *praesul* in the old and new Acts, and in Capgrave, a *bishop*. He was of some part of Connaught; (see *Not.* 61) but the particular place is not known. His reputation was equally great with that of Meldan.

(75) Usher, *Ind. Chron.* from the *Annals of Ulster*.

(76) Fursey was, as has been seen, anxious to place some of his relatives in the monastery, and for that purpose went to Mun-

ster. We may be sure that, to fulfil this intention, he did not wait long after he had fixed his establishment on a firm footing. For this two or three years were fully sufficient; and accordingly, if he had the visions in 627, the foundation of said monastery may be justly assigned to about 624. (Compare with *Not.* 69 and 71.)

(77) Acts, *L.* 1. c. 30. This is mentioned also in the Acts *op. Sur.*

(78) In the old Acts the number of years is ten. In the other (*L.* 1. c. 31.) and in Capgrave they are twelve, including it seems, the year, in which the saint travelled throughout Ireland. The matter is of little consequence, except as far as it is connected with the question of the time of his going to England.

(79) This appears from the Lives of St. Barr, c. 24. Molagga, c. 19. and Cronan c. 16. See *AA. SS.* p. 94.

§. IX. Such were the multitudes of people flocking to the saint, that, being no longer able to bear their importunities, he withdrew to a small island in the ocean, (80) and thence repaired soon after to England, accompanied by some religious men, among whom were two brothers of his, Foillan and Ultan. (81) Arriving in the province of the East Angles he was honourably received by the pious king Sigberet, and employed himself, as usual, in preaching the Gospel. His exertions and example were attended with the conversion of many infidels, and with great benefit to others who were already Christians. (82) His arrival in that country is usually assigned to about 637. (83) While engaged in this manner, he was taken ill and had another vision, in which he was encouraged to persevere in his labours and religious practices. Immediately after his recovery he erected a monastery on a spot granted to him by Sigberet at a place called *Cnobheresburg* (now Burghcastle in Suffolk) in a woody district and contiguous to the sea; which monastery was afterwards enlarged and endowed by king Anna, and the nobles of that coun-

try. (84) Some time after, Fursey wishing to lead a still more retired life gave up the care of the monastery to his brother Foillan and two priests Gobban and Dichull. (85) His other brother Ultan had already withdrawn from the monastery, and was living as a hermit in another part of the province. To him Fursey repaired, and spent a whole year with him practising great austerities and subsisting on the daily labour of his hands. But, as the country was disturbed by the inroads of pagans, and foreseeing that the monasteries were in imminent danger, he went over to France. (86) It is said, that, having landed in that country, he was proceeding with some of his disciples through Ponthieu, when at a place, called *Macerias* (*Mazeroeles*), belonging to a duke Haymon, he heard great lamentations, which, on his going to the duke's residence, he found to be on account of the death of his only son; and that, having prayed over the deceased, he brought him again to life. Haymon endeavoured to induce Fursey to remain in that district, but could not prevail on him to stay there. (87) Be this as it may, the saint was well received by Clovis II. king of Neustria and Burgundy, or rather by Erchinoald, who as mayor of the palace ruled under him, Clovis being at that time only ten years old. Erchinoald gave him some land at *Latiniacum* (*Lagny*) near the river Marne, six leagues from Paris, on which he erected a monastery in or about the year 644. (88)

(80) *Acta, L. 1. c. 32.*

(81) The translator of Ware's *Writers* has very awkwardly (at Fursey) called them *friers*, not knowing that there were no friars in those days. The *fratres* in Ware's original means *brothers*.

(82) *Bede, L. 3. c. 19.*

(83) Usher, reckoning ten years from the date of the visions, places it (*Ind. Chron.*) in 637. Colgan says, 637 or 638. Mabillon makes mention of it, (*Annal. Ben.*) at A. 639, as having

occurred before it, but in what year is uncertain. Smith (*Notes on Bede*) differing from these and other writers, assigns it to 633. His argument is founded on the supposition, that Sigberet was killed in 635, and that his reign had begun in 630. Accordingly he concluded that Fursey's arrival might be placed in 633 as being about the middle of Sigberet's reign. This reasoning would be unanswerable, were Smith right as to the time of said reign. But the commencement of it is placed by others in 636; and, unless we are to set aside the date 627 assigned for Fursey's visions (see *Not. 75.*) or the number of ten years, that elapsed between them and his arrival in England, (*Not. 78.*), the system of these authors is preferable to that of Smith.

(84) *Bede L. 3. c. 19.*

(85) *Id.* Gibbon and Dichull were undoubtedly, as appears from their names, natives of Ireland. They were most probably among those, who had gone over with Fursey.

(86) *Bede, ib.* He says that Fursey "*dimissis ordinate omnibus, navigavit Galliam.*" It is not easy to understand what he meant by *dimissis*, &c. The more probable explanation seems to be, that he discharged the monks from the monastery until the times should become more peaceable. The mention of the danger impending over monasteries favours this explanation, as if alluding to some step taken by Fursey for the protection of his monks; and indeed it is hard to think, that he did not look to their safety.

(87) *Acts L. 2. c. 1.* The reason here assigned for Fursey's refusing to stop with Hayman is, that he was then going to Rome; and, in fact, they give us a pompous account of his journey to that city, his arrival there, &c. &c. all which are still more pompously described by Desmay, and briefly in Burke's *Office of St. Fursey*. This narrative is intermingled with such inconsistencies and anachronisms, that the mere reading of it is sufficient to make us reject it. For instance, it states, that Fursey was at Rome in the time of Martin I. who did not become pope until 649, and that it was not until after his return from Rome that he went to Lagny in France. Now it is well known, that he was settled in that place prior to 649. There is nothing of this Roman expedition in *Bede*, *Capgrave*, &c. and from what they have it is plain, that Fursey after his landing in France remained there until

his death. What gave rise to the story of Fursey having been at Rome was, I believe, its being said in the old Acts that he went from England to France for the purpose of proceeding to Rome, *causa visendi Romam*. But they do not state, that he actually went thither; and it is plain from the sequel that, on his arrival in France, he was detained there particularly by Erchinoald, and not a word occurs to show, that he ever after travelled to Rome.

(88) Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. ad A. 644*. Fleury, *L. 38. §. 28*. Smith *Not. to Bede, L. 3. c. 19*. Usher was mistaken in assigning (*Ind. Chron.*) Fursey's arrival in France to A. D. 640. Erchinoald was not as yet mayor of the palace in that year.

§. x. When it became known in Ireland that Fursey was settled at Lagny, Emilian, *al. Emmian*, who is said to have been instructed by him before he went abroad, left Ireland with some other religious persons to join him at that place; and, when arrived there, they were most kindly welcomed by him and received into the monastery. (89) Having governed for some years this establishment, which his reputation had rendered very numerous, the saint wished to visit his brothers Foillan and Ultan, who were still in England. (90) Entrusting Emilian with the care of it he set out for that purpose, and on his way stopped a while at Macerias with the duke Haymon. Here he fell sick, and, having received the holy viaticum, was removed to a better world about the year 650. (91) The day of his death is variously assigned; but the most probable opinion is that it was the 16th of January. (92) Erchinoald, on hearing of the saint's death, hastened to Macerias and got his body removed to Peronne, where it was laid down in the porch of a church, which Erchinoald had just built there. It remained unburied for several days, (93) until the dedication of the church should take place, which was to be within a month. This ceremony being performed, it was deposited near the altar. Four years after it was removed to a chapel built for this purpose in the

same church to the East of the altar, the ceremony of the translation being performed with great solemnity by St. Eligius (Eloi) bishop of Noyan and Aubertus, bishop of Cambray. (94) The day of this translation was the 9th of February. (95) Some writers hold, that St. Fursey was a bishop; and their opinion is not quite unfounded; but the matter is still uncertain. (96) As to his having been author of certain tracts, (97) there is no sufficient authority for it. Besides Emilian, several other followers or disciples of St. Fursey, who also are said to have been natives of Ireland, are mentioned as having been with him at Lagny, for instance, Eloquius, Mombulus, Adalgisus, Etto, Bertuin, Fredegand, Lactan, Malguil, &c. (98)

(89) Fursey's Acts, *L. 1. c. 38.* Colgan treats of Emilian at 10 *Mart.* the day on which his memory was revered at Lagny. He is spoken of by Menard and others as having been a disciple of Fursey, before the latter left Ireland.

(90) Ultan was probably still in his hermitage; whether Foillan was then governing the monastery of Burghcastle, or living in retirement, I cannot discover. Not long after they both went to the continent.

(91) Mabillon assigns St. Fursey's death to 650. Other writers, quoted in *AA. SS. p. 97.* mark other years; but their dates are not worth attending to. The Annals of Roscrea and of Boyle, referred to (*ib.*) place it in 652. As to the Annals of Boyle, Ware quotes them (*Writers at Fursey*) as having not 652 but 653. This date may be reconciled with the other, if we suppose that the Annals of Roscrea anticipated the Christian era by one year, according to what we find in several other Irish annals. Either 652 or 653 may be as probable a date as Mabillon's; and his 650 ought perhaps to be understood about 650.

(92) According to the Acts (*L. 2. c. 17.*) and Deamay, followed by Colgan, he died on the 9th of February. Others have the 4th of March. But some Irish calendars mentioned in *AA. SS. p. 97.* and Mabillon (at *A. 650*) assign his death to the 16th of January. I do not know where Burke found what he has in the Office of St.

Furseay, viz. that he died on the 26th of December. Colgan, who reckons seven different days, on which the saint's memory was revered, as anniversaries of his death, burial, translation of reliques, &c. has it not among them.

(93) Bede says 27. But it is probable, that they were not more than 23, viz. the intervening days between the 16th of January and the 9th of February, on which there is every reason to think that St. Fursey's remains were buried, and which is the day marked for it by Mabillon.

(94) Acts, L. 1. c. 40. *seqq.* See also Bede, L. 3. c. 19. It is observed that the body, when removed, was quite sound.

(95) Acts, L. 2. c. 17. The author makes said day the anniversary of St. Fursey's death; and hence the opinion of his having died on a 9th of February. But from Bede's statement it appears to have been that of his burial. Thus he must have died several days prior to the 9th of February, and, we may safely admit, on the 16th of January, the day on which his festival has been constantly celebrated.

(96) He is called a bishop in the life of St. Cronan (see *AA. SS. p. 96.*) and in the Annals of Ulster *ap. Usher, Ind Chron. A. 627.* Neither Bede nor the Acts give him this title. Desmay indeed does; but his account of Fursey's consecration is so fabulous, that his authority is good for nothing. He says, (*cap. 14.*) that Fursey and his brother Foillan were both ordained bishops at Rome by Pope Martin I. Now it has been seen, (*Not. 87.*) that Fursey never was at Rome; and as to Foillan, he did not visit the continent until after Fursey's death. Even Colgan rejects this story, and joins Ferrarius, who says that St. Fursey was a bishop, but consecrated in Ireland. Mabillon observes. (*at A. 650*) that a writer of his Life, prior to Arnulph, makes him a bishop, and that his figure was represented, more than 500 years before his (Mabillon's) time, in pontifical robes, on the great door of St. Fursey's church at Feronne. Yet at A. 645 he says, that he was not a bishop, although improperly called so, like Richarius of Centula and some others, on account of his having been a great preacher of the Gospel. This was also the opinion of Molanus, who mentions, (*at 16 Januar.*) that St. Fursey is revered as a bishop in the diocese of Cambray; perhaps he was a *chorepiscopus*,

or one of those bishops without regular sees, of whom there were, in these days, many in Ireland.

(97) See Ware and Harris, *Writers*.

(98) *AA. SS.* p. 96. Some Belgian writers say, that Eloquius was the immediate successor of Fursey at Lagny. This does not agree with what I have seen concerning Emilian having been charged with the care of it. According to Desmay (*cap* 18) the monks, on being informed of St. Fursey's death, elected Eloquius as abbot. If so, Emilian must have resigned the administration. Colgan calls Eloquius the third abbot. The same writers make Mombuhus succeed Eloquius, and exhibit Adalgisus and Etto as brothers of the priest Gobban, who had been with St. Fursey in England, and founders of monasteries in Belgium. It is added that Etto was a bishop, and instructed the people of Avernus. (*AA. SS.* p. 51.) Molanus mentions (*Natales sanctorum Belgii* at 10 July) Etto being called *Hiberniensis episcopus*, and speaks of a church under his name at a place called *Baym* near Arras. Bertuin also is said to have been a bishop and to have established a monastery at Maconia in the new territory of Liege. (See more *AA. SS. ib.* and p. 96.)

§. XI. Not long after St. Fursey's death his brothers Foillan and Ultan left England and went over to Brabant, having been invited, together with some other learned Irishmen, by St. Gertrude, abbess of Nivelles, (99) for the purpose of instructing her community in sacred psalmody and religious matters. Aided by the munificence of St. Gertrude they erected a monastery for the accommodation of their countrymen at Fossás (Fosse) not far distant from Nivelles. (100) Ultan remained there in care of the establishment, Foillan having returned to Nivelles where he superintended both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the nunnery. Some time after Foillan being on his way to see his brother at Fosse, met in the forest of Sinesia (101) with robbers, by whom he and three of his disciples, who accompanied him, were plundered and killed. (102) This happened in or about the year 655 (103) on the

31st of October. As the bodies had been thrown into a thick part of the forest, they were not discovered until the 78th day following, that is, the 16th of January, on which the *Invention* of St. Foillan has been commemorated. (104) His remains were buried at Fosse, and he is called a martyr. (105) He is also called a bishop, and it is probable that he really was so; (106) although not consecrated, as some have said, by Pope Martin I. at Rome, where he does not appear to have been at any time. (107) As to Ultan, we find him, some time, probably short, after the death of Foillan, superior of the monastery of Peronne, which, as well as that of Fosse, was considered as an Irish monastery. (108) I do not find the precise time of its foundation; but it must have been after the death of St. Fursey, in honour of whom it was established. (109) It is said that Ultan still continued to superintend, also, the monastery of Fosse, at least for some time, and that he was also the first superior of the monastery of St. Quintin near Peronne. (110) He is said to have lived until about 676; and his memory is revered at Peronne and elsewhere on the second of May. (111)

(99) St. Gertrude was daughter of Pepin of Landen, who had been mayor of the palace under the kings Clotharius II. Dagobert I. and Sigebert III. Nivelles is in Brabant between Mons and Brussels. See Fleury, *L.* 38. §. 58.

(100) Fosse is near the river Sambre not far to the West of Namur, and in the diocese of Liege. The monastery was called the *monastery of the Irish*; it has since been changed into a collegiate chapter-house and church. (*AA. SS.* p. 103.)

(101) Soigne or Soignies in Hainaut. (102) *AA. SS.* p. 99.

(103) Colgan states from various authors, (*ib.* p. 300.) that Foillan was not killed before 655. Smith (*Not. to Bede L. 3. c. 19.*) says about 656. Mabillon (*Annal. &c.* at 652) treats occasionally of Foillan's death, but does not state the precise time of it. Usher assigns it to A. 654. *Ind. Chron.* This date seems too early.

(104) Colgan has the Acts of this Invention at 16 January.

(105) See the Acts just mentioned. It was usual in those times to give the title of *martyr* to holy men unjustly killed, although not on account of the Christian faith. In these Acts the murderers of Foillan are represented merely as robbers, who killed him and his companions for the sake of plunder, seemingly of some property and articles intended for the relief and use of the monastery of Fosse.

(106) In the same Acts he is often styled *praesul*. Molanus and others give him the title of bishop. See Usher, p. 967.

(107) If Foillan ever was at Rome, it must have been after Furse's death, as Colgan admits, *AA. SS.* p. 300. Now from that epoch, and from the time of Foillan's arrival in the continent until his death, we find him constantly employed in Brabant and the neighbouring districts. At what time then could he have gone to Rome? (Compare with *Not.* 96.) Even Usher was mistaken on this point saying (*Ind. Chron.* ad. A. 648.) that Foillan had in said year returned from Rome, having been there consecrated by Martin I. and after the death of Furse. Now Martin I. was not Pope until 649; nor was Furse dead in 648. Usher was led astray by Sigebert's Chronicle.

(108) Mabillon says (at A. 630) that it was called *Scotorum monasterium*. Its first abbot was Ultan.

(109) Mabillon does not mark the year of its foundation, but Desmay speaks of it (*cap.* 17.) as founded before the death of St. Furse, and at the same time makes Ultan its first abbot. Now there was only a church, and that not yet dedicated, at Peronne when Furse died. And how could Ultan, who was still in England, have been abbot there before Furse's death?

(110) Mabillon at A. 650. Desmay, *cap.* 17. This administration of more monasteries than one was somewhat like the superintendence of an abbot over not only the one in which he resided, but likewise over its cells or dependencies, in which, however, there used to be deputy superiors. As the establishments now mentioned were formed chiefly for the Irish, Ultan was looked upon as, after the death of his brothers, the person fittest to preside over them.

(111) Mabillon at A. 674. speaks of Ultan as still alive in said year, yet as if he died not long after. His name is marked in the

Benedictine and other martyrologies at 1. May. But Desmay says that his festival was kept at Peronne on the 2d.; transferred, I suppose, on account of the 1st being a holiday.

§. XII. The martyr St. Livin was contemporary with St. Fursey. That he was a native of Ireland is universally admitted; (112) and, if we are to believe some writers, he was of royal extraction. (113) He was born during the reign of Colman Rimhe, who was king of Ireland in the beginning of the seventh century. (114) There is a story of his having been baptized by Augustin the apostle of England, as if he should have been carried to England for that purpose, or Augustin had come over to Ireland, where he never was. (115) Livin is said to have had for master Benignus a priest, and, after his death, to have retired to a desert with three companions, Foillan, Elias, and Kilian, where, among other occupations, he employed himself in transcribing books. (116) Next we are told that he passed over to Britain, and, placing himself under the direction of Augustin, remained with him five years, at the expiration of which Augustin ordained him priest. Passing by this story, which directly contradicts the above mentioned, (117) we may safely assert that Livin became a bishop, having been consecrated in Ireland; (118) but in what part of it, or where he officiated, is not known. As to the fable of his having been archbishop of Dublin, it is scarcely worth mentioning; (119) for in those times there was neither an archbishop nor bishop of Dublin. Actuated by zeal for the conversion of pagan nations he left Ireland, together with his three above-mentioned companions, and continued his course, (120) until he arrived in Belgium, having entrusted his church in Ireland to the archdeacon Silvanus. (121) He was received with great kindness by Florbert (122) abbot of two monasteries at Ghent, one of which has been called that of St. Bavo, who was

buried there (123) Having remained at Ghent for 30 days, on every one of which he celebrated mass at St. Bavo's tomb, (124) he set out on his mission through Flanders and Brabant. He was received with great attention by two pious sisters, Berna and Craphaildis, and restored to Ingelbert, a son of the latter, his sight, which had been lost for 13 years. (125) But from the bulk of the people he met with great opposition, insults, and vexation, of which he complains in his epistle to Florbert, declaring at the same time his fore-knowledge and hope that he was to suffer martyrdom. (126) He then consoles himself with the consideration of the friendship of Florbert, (127) who used to provide for his wants while preaching through the country parts, (128) and hints that, although poor in Belgium, he had been great as to this world in his own country. (129) He mentions this on occasion of Florbert having called him not only *pontifex* but also *dominus*, (130) as he wished not to be distinguished by titles. Levin was at this time at Holtam or Holten, (131) now Hauthem or Hauthen in the district of Alost, and on this occasion sent Florbert the epitaph on St. Bavo, which that abbot had requested him to compose, apologizing, however, for its not being as elegant as he would have wished, owing to the agitation of his mind and the constant terror he was kept in. (132) Yet both it and the epistle are very neat compositions, and do great honour to the classical taste of the Irish schools of that period, while barbarism prevailed in the greatest part of Western Europe. It was, in all probability, very soon after his having sent these pieces to Florbet, that Livin was attacked at a village called *Escha* near Hauthem, by a multitude of pagans, among whom one Walbert was chiefly distinguished. After cruelly beating and torturing him, they cut off his head on the 12th of November, A. D. 656. (133) They murdered also his hostess Craphaildis and a young son of hers, named Brixius,

whom the saint had baptized only a few days before. The remains of St. Livin and Brixius were buried in one grave by his disciples at Hauthem, and near them were placed those of Craphaildis. His memory has been, and is still, greatly revered in Belgium.

(112) Molanus, Mabillon, Fleury, &c. all agree in this point. It is needless to refer to particular passages.

(113) It is said that his father was Theagamis or Theaghis, a man of high rank, and his mother Angelmia or Agalmia the daughter of an Irish king. See Harris (*Bishops at Dublin*) and the office of St. Livinus in Burke's *Officia propria*, &c. The Office from the Breviary of Tournay, which is read in Ireland, and which is more correct, merely states that he was of a noble family. And that he was of high lineage will be seen lower down.

(114) Mabillon (*Annal. &c. ad A. 650.*) following a Life of St. Livinus written by one Boniface, says that he was born in Ireland during the reign of king Colomagn, the writer having frenchified our Irish name *Colman* into *Colomagn*. This king Colomagn or Colman was evidently Colman Rimhe, who, jointly with Aidus Slani, ascended the Irish throne in 599, and reigned six years. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 1.*) This period answers for the birth of St. Livin, who, as will be seen, suffered martyrdom in 656. Boniface, author of that Life, has been usually supposed the same as St. Boniface the apostle of Germany, and archbishop of Mentz, who lived in the eighth century. This is a quite unfounded opinion. Mabillon, who has published this Life, (*AA. SS. Ben. Tom. 2.*) thought, that the author was more ancient than Boniface of Mentz, because he says that he got his materials for it from Foillan, Elias, and Kilian, disciples of Livin. This cannot be true, unless it be supposed, that there are interpolations in this tract; for those disciples could not have told him the stories, which it has about Augustin of Canterbury having baptized, &c. Livin, of which lower down. The fact is that Mabillon was mistaken as to the time, in which said Life was composed; for, as the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire* state, (*Tom. vi. p. 644.*) it was written in the latter end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.

(115) This fable is mentioned from Boniface by Mabillon, (at A. 650.) but he did not think it worth animadversion.

(116) Life by Bo and Office from the Breviary of Tournay. Of Benignus and the companions of St. Livin I can find no further account. Several persons of the names *Foillan* and *Kilian* flourished at that period in Ireland.

(117) Augustin did not arrive in England until 597, and died in 605 (Smith *Not. to Bede, L. 2. c. 3.*) or, at the latest, in 607. How then, if he had baptized Livin, could he have ordained him priest? Unless it be supposed that Livin was not baptized until he was a grown up man; but for this supposition there is not the least foundation, and it is quite repugnant to what is stated concerning his early education under Benignus, &c. Augustin had no Irish disciples. Had he any, Laurence of Canterbury and his brother missionaries would not have been as unacquainted with the state of the Irish church, as they were until they met with Dagan. (See *Chap. xiv. §. 16.*) Mabillon rejects all that is said of Augustin with regard to Livin.

(118) Office in the Tournay, &c. That Livin was a bishop we have not only from every writer, who has treated of him, but likewise from himself in his poetical epistle to the abbot Florbert in Usher's *Ep. Hib. Syll. No. 8.* where he says;

*Sufficeret fratrem fratrum dixisse Livinum;
Pontificis nomen pergravat et Domini.*

(119) This fable originated in mistakes of some foreign writers. Not content with what was true, viz. that Livin was a bishop, they made him archbishop of Ireland. Thus not only Boniface makes him an archbishop, but Massacus, quoted by Usher, (*Ep. Hib. Recens.*) says of him that he was *archiepiuscopus Hiberniae*. Then was added by others, in consequence of their being ignorant of Irish history and topography, the stuff of his having been archbishop of Dublin; for they had heard, that Dublin was the metropolis of Ireland. Harris; to pay a compliment to Dublin, has foisted Livin and other pretended bishops, prior to the times of the Danes, into Ware's account of the prelates of Dublin. He says, (p. 303.) that Colgan makes Livin bishop there. Now this is unfair; for Colgan merely refers to Ware (*Bishops of Dublin*) without adding any assertion of his own. Yet he had no right to

make that reference; for Ware, who indeed names Livinus in his treatise *De Praesulibus Lagemae*, published in 1628, that to which Colgan refers, does not make him bishop of Dublin, but, on the contrary, having observed that some historians had so called Livinus, Wiros, and others, does not follow them, beginning his list of the Dublin prelates with Donat or Donagh in the eleventh century. Ware thought so little of Livin's claim, that in his general treatise on the Irish bishops (A. 1665) he has left him out entirely, while he speaks, as before, of Wiros, Rumolo, &c. On this point Burke went still further in his Office for St. Livinus. He says that Livin was not only bishop of Dublin, but likewise that he succeeded, in this see, his uncle Melanchus. Mabillon (*ad A. 650*) makes mention, from the Life written by Boniface (who has nothing about Dublin) of an Irish archbishop called Melanchius and paternal uncle of St. Livin, who is said to have succeeded him; but he does not place either of them in Dublin. Neither Colgan, Ware, nor Harris knew any thing about him, and the whole is undoubtedly a fable, which it would be a waste of time seriously to refute. I suspect that the author of it alluded to one of the Dubhtachs, archbishops of Armagh, probably the second, of whom he might have heard something; and that he hellenized *Dubhtach* into *Melanchus*, *Μελανχος*, blackmound, from the Irish *dubh*, black, and *tuaim*, mound. Wishing to raise the character of Livinus, he might have thought it allowable to make him a nephew of this Dubhtach, although it is not easy to believe that he could have been so, as Dubhtach II. died in 548.

(120) Malbrancq says, (*De Morin. L. 3. c. 18.*) that Livin preached for some time among the Morini in Picardy.

(121) By *Silvanus*, an universal name in Ireland, was meant, I suppose, one Sillan, or Sillen.

(122) In the Dublin edition of the Tournay Office of St. Livin *Florentius* appears, through mistake, instead of *Florbertus*.

(123) These monasteries were founded by St. Amandus, who was, about these times, bishop of Moastrict. St. Bavo, a native of Brabant and disciple of Amandus, died towards 653. See Mabillon, *ad A. 660*, and Fleury, *L. 38. §. 57*.

(124) Livin had a great veneration for this saint. He wrote

an epitaph for him, which he concludes with praying to him to protect his church at Ghent,

"Quam tu fundasti, quae te tenet, inclyte Bavo
Ecclesiam meritis protege, sancte, tuis."

(125) Mabillon from *Life by Boniface*.

(126) "Hos postquam populos consperi luce serena,

Sol mihi non luxit, nox fuit una mihi.

Impia Barbarico gens exagitata tumultu

Hic Braebanta furit, neque cruenta petit.

Quid tibi peccavi, qui pacis nuntia porto?

Pax est quod porto; cur mihi bella moves?

Sed qua tu spiras feritas sors laeta triumphi,

Atque dabit palmam gloria martyrii.

Cui credam novi, nec spe frustrabor inani:

Qui spondet Deus est; quis dubitare potest?"

(127) "Attamen est aliquid moestae solatia menti

Quod dat, nec penitus me atra premit dies.

Ganda parat gremium, quo me fovet ubere laeto;

Invitat, mulcet, nutrit, amat, refovet.

Hic est Floribertus, quem virtus flore perornat, &c."

(128) "Haec quoque dum scribo, properans agitator aselli

Munere nos solito, pondere lassus, adit.

Ruris delicias affert, cum laete butyrum,

Ovaeque caseoli plena canistra premunt, &c."

(129) "Egressus patriam, pompae mortalis honorem

Sprevi, devovi; spes Deus una mihi."

(130) See above *Not.* 118.

(131) "Holtam villa gravis, quae nescis reddere fructum,"
&c."

(132) "Et pius ille pater cum donis mollia verba

Mittit, et ad studium sollicitat precibus;

Ac titulo magnum jubet insignire Bavonem,

Atque leves elegos esse decus tumulo.

Nec reputat, fisso cum atridet fistula ligno,

Quod soleat raucum reddere quassa sonum.

Exigui rivi pauper quam vena ministrat,

Lasso vix tenues (tenuem) unda ministrat opem.

Sic ego, qui quondam studio florente videbar

Esse poeta, modo curro pedester equo.

Et qui Castalio dicebar fonte madentem
 Dictaeo versu posse movere lyram,
 Carmina nunc lacero dictant mihi verba Camoenae ;
Mensque dolens, laetis apta nec est modulis.
 Non sum qui fueram festivo carmine laetus :
 Qualiter esse queam, *tela cruenta videns*, ? &c."

(133) This is the year, at which Mabillon treats of his martyrdom. Fleury (*L.* 38. §. 57.) says about 656. Massacus and some others have assigned it to 633, and thus led astray several writers, even Usher, who following them, marks (*Ep. H. Syll.*) said year as the date of the Epistle to Florbert. It is easy to refute this position ; for it is allowed that St. Livin did not arrive at Ghent until after the death of St. Bavo, which occurred about 653 (See above *Not.* 123.) The same Massacus, who is quoted also by Ware (*Writers at Livin*) says that he was put to death in the very year of his arrival in that country. But from what is said of his having converted a *great* number of pagans it would appear, that he must have spent there, at least, somewhat more than a year. On the other hand it is stated, (see *Office*) that Bavo was dead three years before his arrival in Ghent. Now supposing that Bavo died in the latter end of 652, and admitting that St. Livin was killed in 656, there will remain only about one year for his mission in Flanders and Brabant. It might, however, be argued on some collateral grounds, that St. Bavo's death was not, so long as three years, prior to St. Livin's arrival ; but, in the want of authentic documents, it is better to dismiss the subject.

§. XIII. The holy virgin Dymphna is usually supposed to have suffered martyrdom about these times. But, if she was, as constantly said to be, a native of Ireland, it is, consistently with her history, more probable, that she lived at either an earlier or a later period than the seventh century. It is related that she was the daughter of an Irish pagan king, who, having lost his wife, conceived an unnatural affection for her and wished to marry her, on account of her extraordinary beauty and the great likeness she bore to her mother. Dymphna

was secretly a Christian, and had been baptized and instructed by a worthy priest named Gerebern, by whom her mother also, and others, used to be privately attended. To avoid being forced to submit to her father's horrid proposal, she contrived to make her escape from Ireland, accompanied by Gerebern and some other persons, and safely arrived at Antwerp, whence she went to Gela or Gheel, then a small place, but now a populous town in Brabant. Here she found a church dedicated to St. Martin, not far from which she procured a habitation for herself and her companions, where they led a most religious life, Gerebern celebrating mass for them in the church. The king, on being apprized of her escape, sailed in quest of her, attended by many followers, and having arrived also at Antwerp sent persons here and there through the country to make enquiries about her. Some of them happened to stop for a night at Westerloo, and on the next morning, when paying their host, for the entertainment they had received, in Irish money, were told by him, that he had some pieces very like it, of which he did not know the precise value. On being asked how he had come by them he said, that a young and very beautiful lady, who had come over from Ireland and lived in a retired place not far distant, together with a venerable old priest, used to send some of them to him for such articles as she was in need of. Having got themselves directed to that place, they saw Dymphna at a distance, and, on their recognizing her, immediately returned to Antwerp and informed the king of what had occurred. He went with his attendants to the spot, and having there found her and Gerebern, endeavoured to persuade her to agree to his infamous wish. Gerebern beginning to remonstrate against his conduct was instantly ordered to be put to death; and after this was executed the king used every exertion to bring her over to his purpose.

Dympna was inflexible, and reproaching him with the wickedness of his proceeding declared, that she detested his gods and goddesses, and that nothing should induce her to offend her true lover Jesus Christ. On this the king became outrageous, and gave orders that she should be beheaded. As all his attendants declined to obey this command, he became the executioner himself and murdered his own daughter. Her remains and those of Gerebern were left exposed on the ground, but after some days were deposited in a cavern by some of the neighbouring inhabitants. They were in process of time removed elsewhere, those of Gerebern to a place now called Southbeck in the duchy of Cleves, and Dympna's to Gheel, where they are preserved in a precious urn, and with great care, in a collegiate church called by her name. The day of her martyrdom is said to have been a 30th of May, the 15th of said month, on which her festival is kept, being the anniversary of a translation of her reliques. The year is unknown, and even the century is uncertain, it being scarcely credible that it was the seventh. (134).

(134) In the Acts of St. Dympna *ap.* Messingham (*Florileg.*) and the Bollandists at 15 May (written by Peter, a Canon Regular of St. Aubert of Cambray in the 18th century,) whence I have taken this narrative, and which have been closely followed by Burke (*Offic. propr.*) it is said that she suffered about A. D. 600. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad S. Dympna & S. Gerebern.*) speak of their martyrdom as having occurred, seemingly, in the 7th century. Thence they throw out a conjecture, that these saints were perhaps Anglo-Saxons, many of that nation being at that period still pagans; whereas the Irish were then universally Christians, and, they add, had already begun to instruct and enlighten the people of various other countries. They observe that in one passage of Dympna's Acts, where her father is said to have been a king, a MS. of Utrecht has *Britannia*. But in every other MS. and document relative to her we find *Hibernia*; and in her

Acts we meet with it not once but several times. They say that *Gerebern* has rather an Anglo-Saxon than Irish sound; as if the termination *ern* were unusual in Irish names. Now it is well known, that it was not so; and in our ancient history we meet with *Fortchern*, *Libern*, &c. Several Irish names at this very day terminate, at least, as they are pronounced, in the same manner. Their other conjecture is much more plausible; viz. that *Dympna* was the daughter of a Danish king of some part of Ireland during the time that the Danes and Norwegians, who had established themselves in this country, continued pagans. Those nations had very loose ideas of matrimonial rules and impediments. According to this hypothesis, *Dympna's* times could not have been earlier than the 9th century. It is certainly preferable to the opinion of her having lived in the seventh, or even in the latter part of the sixth, at which period all the Irish princes appear in our history as Christians; and consequently it cannot be supposed, that any one of them would have proposed such an incestuous marriage. But, besides the whole of the fifth century, we find likewise in the early part of the sixth some pagan kings or chieftains in Ireland, and it appears probable that St. *Dympna's* martyrdom occurred either before 500, or not long after it. A celebrated holy virgin named *Dymna al. Damnad*, of the great house of Orgiel, was highly revered in that country (Louth, Monaghan, &c.) and was distinguished by the surname *Schenc*, that is, the fugitive. She is said by our genealogists to have been the daughter, or as Colgan explains it, the paternal grand daughter of Daimhein, or Damen a king of Orgiel, and who was also the grandfather of St. Enda of Arran. *Dymna* was not, however, sister to St. Enda, as her name does not appear among those of his sisters, who are often mentioned. Following the genealogists, she must have been either a first cousin or aunt of his. In either case, considering the times in which Enda lived, *Dymna* must have been born prior to 500. (See *Chap. VIII. §. 7.*) That *Damen* was a Christian we have no reason to believe; and, at least, one of the princes his sons might have been a pagan. On the whole then Colgan's conjecture (*AA. SS. p. 713.*) that this *Dymna*, the fugitive, was the same as St. *Dympna* the martyr, is not probable; and thus the guilty father was either *Damen* or a son of his; and her martyrdom ought not to be assigned to a later

period than about A. D. 500. It may be thought strange, that even a pagan, any how civilized, could have resolved on marrying his own daughter; but incestuous marriages of this and even of a worse kind were not unusual among some nations, otherwise far removed from the savage state, such as the Persians in the proudest times of their empire. It is certain that the pagan Irish had several customs and practices, both religious and political, similar to those of the Persians and some other Orientals. The mode of contracting marriages is said to have been nearly the same in Ireland as in Persia (See Vallancey, *Vindication*, &c. p. 351.) In the pagan times of Ireland some instances occur even of that worst of Persian practices, the marriage of a son with his mother. (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 282 and 287.) To the hypothesis of St. Dymphna having suffered about 500 it may be objected that the Andoverpes or people about Antwerp were pagans until the seventh century, (see Fleury, *L.* 38. §. 29) and many of them still later. But in the saint's Acts they are not represented as Christians in her time, although it is said there was a church at Gheel. Besides our not being bound to believe this part of the narrative, it may be observed, that a church or chapel might have been erected there by some former missionaries, which, however, was neglected by the inhabitants. It may also be said, that in the latter end of said 7th century Antwerp was but a small place, a *castrum*, as appears from the Life of St. Villebrod. This difficulty is easily removed; whereas in the Acts it is called only, a *castrum*, and there is no allusion to its having been in St. Dymphna's days a place of consequence.

§. xiv. Another Irish saint, well known in the continent, concerning whose times there are various opinions, although his transactions are tolerably well recorded, is St. Fridolin (135) surnamed the traveller. That he was a native of Ireland is now universally admitted; but of what part of it is difficult to decide. (136) His birth was illustrious, and he is usually said to have been the son of a king. (137) Having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he was raised to the priesthood and preached with great zeal for some time in various parts of Ireland. Wish-

ing to visit foreign countries he passed over to France, and after preaching here and there for some time became a member of St. Hilary's monastery at Poitiers, where he remained for a considerable time, and was so much esteemed by the community and the bishop and clergy, that he was elected abbot. He then completed an object, which he had greatly at heart, the rebuilding of St. Hilary's church, in which he was assisted by the king Clovis, and by the bishop and inhabitants, and placed in it the remains of that saint, reserving a part of them for himself. During this time he was visited by two priests relatives of his, who had come from Northumberland to see him. (138) Leaving them at Poitiers, and taking with him the portion he had reserved of the reliques of St. Hilary, Fridolin went to the Eastern parts of France, and stopped near the Moselle, on the bank of which he erected a monastery in honour of the same saint, which has been thence called *Helera*. (139) Having remained there only as long as was necessary to complete that foundation, he built a church amidst the Vosges likewise in honour of St. Hilary, perhaps that which was named *Hilariacum*, and in course of time the monastery of *St. Nabor*. (140) Thence he proceeded to Strasburgh, where also he erected a church under the same denomination. Next we find him at Coire in the Grison country, and here likewise founding a church of St. Hilary. While there, he inquired of the inhabitants if there were any island in the Rhine as yet uninhabited, and was informed there was one, of which, however, they could not give him a precise account. He went in search of it, and at length found the island of Seckingen, a well known place several miles up the Rhine above Basle, and where now is one of the Forest towns. When examining it for the purpose of discovering whether it were fit for the erection of a church, he was ill treated and flogged by the inhabitants of the

neighbouring district as if he were a robber. But having soon after got a grant of the island from the king, (141) he founded a church and a religious house for females, towards the endowment of which he got some lands from Urso a nobleman of Glaris in Switzerland. (142) Thenceforth he seems to have spent the remainder of his life in Seckingen together with some disciples of his, of whom he had formed a community, prior, it is said, to his having established the nunnery. (143) He died there on a sixth of March, (144) but in what year is not known. There are great doubts even as to the century, in which he flourished; but, although I have on account of these doubts treated of him in this place, I think the most probable opinion is that, which assigns him to the latter part of the seventh and the early part of the eighth. (145) Some writings have been attributed to this saint, but upon no sufficient authority. (146)

(135) Colgan has at 6 March, various Acts and accounts of St. Fridolin. The most ancient is a Life by Baltherus, who studied in the monastery of St. Gall, and afterwards was a clergyman of Seckingen. He dedicated this tract to a Notker of St. Gall, who, according to Colgan and the Bollandists was the celebrated Notker Balbulus, who died in 912. Hence it was concluded, that Baltherus wrote said Life some time after the middle of the ninth century. But, as Mabillon observes, (*Annal. &c.* at A. 590.) it must have been written much later; for Baltherus, both in his preface and at the end of the second book, speaks of an incursion of pagans at Seckingen as having occurred long before, *jam olim*. This was by the Hungarians in 938. Besides Notker Balbulus there were five other Notkers at St. Gall, two in the tenth century, one in the 11th, another in the 12th, and one still later. The Notker, addressed by Baltherus, must have been one of the last. Yet the lateness of the period, at which he wrote, does not weaken the authority of his work; as he declares, that he took it from what he had read in an old book, which he had met with in France. In

Colgan's edition of it many errors occur, which the Bollandists in theirs have endeavoured to correct.

(136) In the Life by Baltherus we read ; (*L. l. c. 1.*) “ *Beatus Fridolinus ab extremis partibus inferioris Scotiae oriundus esse non ambigitur, quae videlicet apud ipsos Scotigenas Hibernia nuncupata, &c.*” Colgan thought that by *inferioris* or the lower part of Ireland the author meant the North. This does not agree with what Baltherus has (*ib. c. 6.*) concerning a sort of sea, which separates lower Scotia or Ireland from the upper part. The only great water boundary in Ireland is the Shannon, and accordingly the division alluded to seems to refer not to North and South, but to East and West. The part, pointed at by Baltherus, of that water boundary was where shipping could be taken for a foreign country ; and it is stated that Fridolin had a long journey from his own country before he reached it. Considering this data, it may be supposed to have been towards the mouth of the Shannon, and it will appear probable that the country, whence Fridolin went thither, was some inferior and far distant part of Connaught. I say *Connaught* preferably to an Eastern part of Ireland ; for Fridolin's country is said to have been at the extremity of lower Ireland. If by this was meant the East, said extremity would, calculating from where Baltherus lived, probably have been placed by him towards the West, and thus would have touched the Shannon instead of being far distant from it. Yet these are mere conjectures ; nor can any certain conclusion be drawn from such loose geographical indications. It may even be suspected, that by *lower and upper Scotia* Baltherus meant not two divisions of Ireland, but the old Scotia (all Ireland) and the new Scotia, or modern Scotland ; and that the sea he mentions was that, which separates the two countries. At the time he lived, which was undoubtedly not before the 11th or 12th century. N. Britain had begun to be known by the name of *Scotia*. But in this hypothesis how are we to explain what he says of Fridolin having been born in the extremity of lower Scotia, (Ireland) and his proceeding thence by a long journey to that sea for the purpose of sailing for France ? Could he have meant by said *extremity* the Southern part of Ireland as being the most remote from Scotland ? Yet in this case, how account for his going to the North to procure a passage for France ? The whole matter is so obscure, that I shall say no more

about it. Other writers, who treat of Fridolin, such as Gapar, Bruschius, Canisius, Guilliman, &c. quoted in *AA. SS.* (p. 492) make mention of him in general terms as an Irishman, or as Ma. billon calls him, *Scotto-Hibernus*. The Bollandists reject the pretensions of certain Scotch writers, who claimed him their countryman.

(137) Some writers merely say that he was of royal blood. Bartherus, without touching on royalty, represents him as a person of highly distinguished family.

(138) *Life*, *L. 1. c. 16.* It is said that these two priests were nephews of his, and they are spoken of as having remained at Poitiers and died there. (*AA. SS. p. 490.*) Their having come from Northumberland shows, that they had been missionaries in that country.

(139) *Life L. 1. c. 19. and Preface.* Several writers make Helera the same as Hilariacum a monastery in Lorraine and diocese of Metz, which, according to Claudius Roberti, (*Galia Christiana*, p. 628.) was founded by St. Fridolin, endowed by Siebold bishop of Metz, and dedicated in the year 714. The Sammarthani have, in their *Gallia Christiana*, followed Roberti. Colgan, who thought that Fridolin lived in the time of Clovis I. endeavours to evade this date by saying, (*AA. SS. p. 480.*) that, although said monastery was founded by Fridolin, the endowment and dedication did not take place until 200 years after his death. But who will believe that the monastery or its church remained undedicated during so very long a period? The Bollandists, who were of Colgan's opinion as to Fridolin having been in France under Clovis I. pronounce that the Sammarthani made a mistake of 200 years, or that the dedication, &c. in Siebold's time must be understood as a new dedication, &c. They add a much more plausible explanation, viz. that Hilariacum was perhaps different from Helera, and quote Meurissius, (*on the bishops of Metz*) who states, that Hilariacum was founded in honour of St. Paul and endowed, &c. in 734. If founded in honour of St. Paul, it must have been different from Helera. Mabillon, although differing from Colgan and the Bollandists as to the times of Fridolin, asserts, (*Annal. Ben. ad. A. 590*) that Helera and Hilariacum were different places. Besides observing that the latter was dedicated not to St. Hilary but to St. Paul, he adduces an argument much less easy

to answer, which is that Hilariacum was situated not on the Moselle but not far from the Saar, at a considerable distance from the former river. It still existed in his own times, whereas Helera, he says, had been long extinct. As to the argument taken from Hilariacum having been dedicated to St. Paul, this assertion may be safely denied. That monastery was known by the name of St. Hilary before it got that of St. Nabor, in consequence of the body of this saint having been placed there by Chrodegang bishop of Metz about A. D. 763. (See Fleury *L.* 43. §. 37.) The very name *Hilariacum* shows, that the patron saint was at first Hilary. But how can we answer the argument of Hilariacum not being on the Moselle? I think it must be allowed that Helera, which was certainly on it, was a different place. Might not, however, Hilariacum also have been one of Fridolin's foundations? In his *Life*, immediately after the account of his having erected Helera, we read that having left that place, and before his arrival at Strassburgh, he erected a church amidst or near the Vosges (of Lorraine) likewise in honour of St. Hilary. I suspect that this is the church that gave rise to Hilariacum, or, as afterwards called, the monastery of St. Nabor, *al.* St. Avol. This place is nearer to the Saar than to the Moselle, and being in the Eastern or mountainous part of Lorraine answers to the description of the tract, in which Baltherus says that Fridolin founded a church after he had left the banks of the Moselle. Thus then it remains that Hilariacum, although different from Helera, was a foundation also of Fridolin; and the argument against the statement of Roberti, &c. falls to the ground.

(140) See *Not. prec.*

(141) This was one of the French kings, to whom that country then belonged. Which of them he was will be inquired into lower down.

(142) *Life*, *L.* 2. c. 6. Guffiman, *De Rebus Helveticorum*, quoted by Colgan (*AA. SS.* p. 493.) says that Fridolin had founded a monastery at Glaris.

(143) *AA. SS.* p. 480.

(144) *Life*, *L.* 2. c. 5.

(145) A crowd of writers, quoted by Colgan, (*AA. SS.* p. 491.) place the arrival of Fridolin in France in the reign of Clovis the first. With them the Bollandists agree, who, however, reject the opinion of those, who pretend that he was in that country as

early as the year 495. It is plain that he was not long there, before he entered the monastery of St. Hilary at Poitiers. Now this could not have been prior to 507, the year in which Clovis defeated Alaric king of the Visigoths in the battle of Vouillé and got possession of that city. This circumstance was not attended to by those writers. They looked only to the time, about which Clovis became a Christian. Yet, notwithstanding the agreement of so many authors of more or less repute, the fact is, that the Clovis, during whose reign Fridolin arrived in France, was not Clovis the first. Baltherus, indeed, repeatedly calls the king, with whom Fridolin was contemporary, Clovis, or Clodoveus; but he does not state which Clovis he was. He might have meant Clovis the second, who reigned between 638 and 656, were it not that this Clovis was king of Neustria and Burgundy, whereas Baltherus represents (*L. l. c. 10.*) his Clovis as reigning far and wide. There was a third Clovis, who reigned in the latter end of the seventh century, and whose empire was very extensive. It is true that he was one of the kings called *fuineans*, the real power being in the hands of the mayor of the palace Pepin of Heristal. Yet he retained the name of king, and was most probably the Clovis meant by Baltherus. That Fridolin did not arrive in France as early as the times of Clovis I. is evident from various circumstances touched upon by Baltherus, whose authority is the best we have. According to him Christianity appears to have been completely established in Ireland at the time of Fridolin's departure from France; there was a great body of clergy, &c. This representation does not suit the religious state of Ireland at the period, in which Clovis I. reigned. And why should Fridolin in his zeal for propagating the Gospel have left his own country at a time when there was ample scope for his exertions at home? These holy expeditions of our missionaries to the continent had not begun as early as the commencement of the sixth century. Next comes the very remarkable circumstance of the priests, Fridolin's nephews, who had come to him from Northumberland. (*Above Not. 138.*) There were no Irish priests in Northumberland until the year 635. (*See Chap. xv. §. 12.*)

Mabillon (*Annal. Ben. ad A. 590.*) thinking that he had discovered the real period, at which Fridolin flourished, rejects the opinion of its having been during the reign of Clovis I. He re-

jects also that of Roberti, &c. which brings him down as late as the eighth century, arguing from the circumstance of Hilariacum having been different from Helera. But we have seen (*Not.* 139.) that this argument is not of such weight as he imagined. He maintains, that the time, at which Fridolin founded Helera, was about 590. His proof is founded on a letter written by one Gogus, who had been a powerful man at the court of Sigebert I. king of Austrasia, to Peter bishop of Metz, in which he salutes an abbot who was wont to visit the thresholds of saints, and had just erected a church on the banks of the Moselle; *cujus gressibus indesinenter sanctorum limina visitantur—nunc super Mosellae litoribus præcelsa templi cernitur construxisse jam culmina.* The name of this abbot is not mentioned; but from these circumstances Mabillon concludes, that he was undoubtedly Fridolin. This opinion is quite contrary to the statement of Baltherus as to king Clovis; for at the period assigned by Mabillon there was no king of that name, and hence he asserts that Baltherus was wrong in attributing to Clovis (the first, as Mabillon understood him) transactions relative to Fridolin, which occurred under some of his successors. There is, however, another point not adverted to by Mabillon, that of Fridolin's nephews having arrived at Poitiers from Northumberland. In his hypothesis this must have been not later than about 590; now there were no Irish priests in Northumberland at that time, nor for many years after. Mabillon's main argument is that the abbot there spoken of by Gogus built a church on the Moselle. I do not see how this proves, that said abbot was Fridolin. There might have been others, who erected churches on the banks of that river.

Calmet, although he had Mabillon's *Annals* before his eyes, does not follow his system as to Fridolin. He says, (*Hist. de Lorraine, L. vii. §. 18.*) that Fridolin arrived in France early in the sixth century. Enough has been said to show, that, unless we are to reject the authority of Baltherus, this cannot be true. Calmet attributes the foundation of Hilariacum to Fridolin, and observes that the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves had been at first called the *cell of St. Hilary*. He thinks that it got this name from Fridolin; and in this case it may be supposed to have been the Helera of Baltherus, whereas Treves lies on the Moselle, and accordingly not extinct as Mabillon has said. Yet it

must seem odd that Baltherus does not mention Treves, when marking the situation of Heléra. But even admitting that the St. Hilary's cell at Treves was founded by Fridolin, the question remains at what time it began to be called the monastery of St. Maximin. Calmet refers to a diploma attributed to Dagobert I. and said to have been written in 634, in favour of St. Peter's church at Treves, in which the monastery of St. Maximin is mentioned as having been formerly called the *cell of St. Hilary*. If this document were genuine, it should be admitted that said cell was very ancient; but, as far as I can judge, it is a spurious composition; and although there was a *church* of St. Maximin at Treves in the sixth century, there seems not to have been a *monastery* there of that name until a much later period. Whether or not the St. Hilary's cell of Treves was founded by Fridolin, nothing decisive can be deduced towards fixing the time of its origin from the confused accounts, that are given relatively to the *monastery* of St. Maximin.

On the whole I do not find any authority or argument sufficient to overthrow the position of Claudius Roberti and the Sammarthani as to the times in which Fridolin flourished. It has been objected, that Hilariacum, of which, according to them, he was the founder, was in reality founded by the bishop Sigebold. Some writers have indeed said so, such as Paulus diaconus, (*Gesta episcoporum Metensium*, ap. Calmet *Append. to Hist. de Lorraine*, Tom. 1.); but this can be easily explained, inasmuch as although founded by Fridolin, it was endowed by Sigebold, as Roberti, and the Sammarthani state. In this manner the various authorities are easily reconciled, and the very assertion of Paulus affords a strong criterion for discovering the time of Fridolin. He does not say, that Sigebold repaired said monastery, as the Bollandists thought might have been the case, but that he founded it; and accordingly points out its origin. On the other hand every circumstance tends to show, that the prime mover on this occasion was Fridolin. From all that we have now seen I think it may safely be concluded, that Fridolin arrived in France after the middle of the seventh century; that, having spent many years in the monastery of St. Hilary of Poitiers, he became abbot of it during the reign of Clovis III. by whom he was much patronized; and that after some time, resigning the abbacy, he removed to the eastern parts

of France. In what year he founded Helera, we cannot form a conjecture; and even as to Hilariacum, although said to have been dedicated in 714, it cannot be decided whether that was the precise year of its foundation, as it might have taken place a few years sooner. The dates of his subsequent transactions are equally uncertain.

There still remains one point to be inquired into. Baltherus, who mentions Clovis as king when Fridolin was abbot at Poitiers, speaks of the same king as still patronizing him after he had passed over to the banks of the Moselle, and even as far as Seckingen. Now this cannot be easily reconciled with the date 714 marked for the dedication of Hilariacum. Clovis the third was dead since 695. If Hilariacum was founded during his reign, it is hard to think that it would have remained undedicated until 714. And considering the shortness of that king's reign, which lasted only five years, it can scarcely be admitted, that Fridolin's transactions, including his being appointed abbot of Poitiers, down to the foundation of Seckingen, could have been comprized within it. It cannot be said that we should therefore suppose the Clovis of Baltherus to have been Clovis the second, whose reign lasted 18 years; for, omitting other difficulties, this Clovis had no power in Austrasia, the scene of Fridolin's latter proceedings. I think the whole matter may be easily explained by supposing that the real patron of Fridolin, in whatever part of France he happened to be, was Pepin of Heristal, who was mayor of the palace under Clovis III. at the time that Fridolin was at Poitiers, and afterwards under his successors Childebert III. and Dagobert III. Baltherus, having met with the name of Clovis on the occasion of Fridolin being at Poitiers, might have imagined that he was still king when Fridolin was moving along the Moselle and the Rhine. On these occasions he does not mention the name of Clovis; but speaks of the *aforesaid* king. Now the real king was in those days Pipin, and Baltherus was probably unacquainted with the names of some of the nominal ones. Pepin was a great encourager of missionaries. (See Fleury, *L.* 40. §. 47.)

I should not have troubled the reader with this long note, were it not for the confusion, in which the history of St. Fridolin has been thrown by various hypotheses as to the times in which he lived, and which might almost excite doubts concerning his ex-

istence. Such doubts would, however, be ridiculous; for, besides the constant tradition of the establishments which he founded or governed, particularly Seckingen, there is scarcely a saint, whose memory has been more celebrated for centuries in Lorraine, Alsace, Germany, and Switzerland. The account given of him by Baltherus bears, generally speaking, great marks of authenticity; nor would any confusion have arisen, had his Clovis not been mistaken for Clovis the first. Among the very many authors who treat of Fridolin, Canisius and Murer have each written his Life in German.

(146) The chief authority is that of Dempster, who, as Colgan and the Bollandists observe on this occasion, attributes to holy men what they might have done, without caring whether they did it or not. The pretended works of Fridolin are mentioned by Harris, *Writers*.

§. xv. Several other distinguished persons from Ireland are spoken of as having illustrated France and Belgium by their piety and zeal in the seventh century. A St. Tressan or Tresan is said to have been a companion of Foillan, Ultan, Eloquius, &c. (147) But other accounts state, that St. Tressan was living in France as early as the beginning of the sixth century. (148) According to his Acts he was an illiterate man, but a very religious good Christian. Wishing to lead the life a pilgrim, he went to France taking along with him six brothers, Gibrian, Helan, German, Veran, Abran, Petran, and three sisters, Fracla, Promptia, and Posemna, all very devout persons. (149) He stopped in the territory of Rheims near the Marne in the time of the bishop St. Remigius, by whom Clovis I. was baptized. After some years, having acquired sufficient learning, he was ordained priest by St. Remigius on the recommendation of Genebaldus bishop of Laon. (150) Tressan spent the remainder of his life in the diocese of Rheims near the Marne, and having distinguished himself by his great piety and some miracles, died on a 7th of February, and was buried at Avenay in

Champagne. (151) With this account of the times of St. Tressan agrees that given of those of his brother Gibrian, who is said to have arrived in France in the time of Clovis I. and St. Remigius, (152) and, having led a very holy life in the district of Chalons sur Marne, to have died there, whence his remains were long after, viz. in the latter end of the 9th century, removed to Rheims, (153) where his memory is revered on the 8th of May. A similar agreement occurs likewise in what is said of Helan, who is revered also at Rheims and elsewhere on the 7th of October. (154) As to the other brothers and the sisters, scarcely any thing particular is recorded; but it seems rash to deny, that this whole groupe belonged to the times of St. Remigius. Yet the matter is not quite certain; (155) and accordingly, as I have found some of them mentioned as having flourished in the seventh century, I deferred treating of them until this period.

(147) See above §. 10. 11. Molanus, following a Life of Eloquius, joins with them Tressan and others. (See *AA. SS.* p. 273.)

(148) According to Sigebert's chronicle Tressan was in France in 509. Colgan and the Bollandists have published at 7 February the Acts of Tressan from a MS. of the monastery of St. Remigius of Rheims. Flodoard, who lived in the tenth century, and who treats of him and his brothers, &c. in his history of Rheims, seems to have read these Acts.

(149) Acts, *cap.* 1. Elsewhere the names of the sisters are spelt in a different manner. But this is a matter of no consequence. These brothers and sisters are mentioned also by Flodoard.

(150) Genebaldus was appointed to that see about A. D. 500. He was its first bishop. (See Fleury, *L.* 30. §. 46.)

(151) Colgan was, as the Bollandists justly observe, wrong in saying, that the body of St. Tressan rests at Rheims. The Acts place it at Avenay; and there is no account of its having been removed. An abbeſs of Avenay procured the printing of an

Office of this saint at Rheims in the year 1600, which was taken from these Acts, such as I have now given the substance of.

(152) The Bollandists have the Acts of Gibrian at 8 May. The seven brothers and three sisters are mentioned in them as in the Acts of Tressan. A breviary of Rheims, referred to by the Bollandists, assigns Gibrian's arrival in France to the reign of Clovis I.

(153) According to Gibrian's Acts this removal took place when Fulco was archbishop of Rheims, and therefore some time between 882 and 900.

(154) Colgan quotes the following passage from a Life of St. Helan, published at Rheims in 1612. "Clodoveo rege Franco-rum recenter ad fidem Christianam conversa et baptizato, cum res Ecclesiae Gallicanae imprimis regerentur a S. Remigio archiepiscopo Remensi, ex Hibernia insula, quam Scotorum gens incolebat, in Christiani vigoris dignitate florens, omnibusque vicinis gentibus fide praepollens—peregrinationis ob amorem Christi gratia septem fratres eximia pietatis ac virtutum exemplaria cum tribus sororibus suis divina inspiratione incitati venerunt in Franciam; nimirum Gibrianus, Helanus, Tressanus," &c. as above. (See more *AA. SS.* p. 274.)

(155) In a Life of Eloquius, Helan, Tressan, German, and Veran, are named as companions of his. If this be true, they must have lived in the seventh century, and so also Gibrian and the other persons of that family. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad Vit. S. Tresani*) are angry with the author, or perhaps interpolator, of said Life for having made Helan, &c. contemporary with Eloquius, and think it strange that Molanus has followed it. But is it certain that no mistake was committed in drawing up the Acts of Tressan, &c. upon which mainly depends the opinion of these persons having flourished in the times of Clovis I. and St. Remigius? Might not some old document have assigned their times to the reign of a Clovis, without adding who that Clovis was? The period mentioned in the Life of Eloquius corresponds to the reign of Clovis the second. The compilers of the Acts of Tressan, &c. might have mistaken this Clovis for Clovis the first. It is true that the specific mention, in Tressan's Acts, of Remigius, and, what is more remarkable, of Genebaldus, affords a strong argument against this supposition. Yet it may be stil

suspected, that these compilers, knowing that these bishops lived in the reign of Clovis I. introduced their names without sufficient authority. The Bollandists urge, that in the said *Life of Eloquius* is mentioned also a Columbanus as one of his companions. Thinking that the author meant the great St. Columbanus of Luxeu, they hence conclude that the passage relative to these companions is not worthy of credit. They should, however, have reflected, that the Columbanus there mentioned is not marked by any epithet of distinction; and that there might have been a person of that name, which was very common in Ireland, among the companions of Eloquius, different both as to time and place from the great one. Colgan reckons (*AA. SS. p. 96.*) Treasan and his three above mentioned brothers among those companions as disciples of St. Fursey, and yet elsewhere, (*ib. p. 274*) contradicting himself, maintains that they lived in the times of Clovis I.

§. xvi. St. Madelgar, or Maldegar, surnamed Vincent, who certainly lived in the seventh century, is said to have been a native of Ireland. (156) He was a military man, and had so distinguished himself by his exploits in the service of the French kings, that he was raised to the rank of Count. (157) He resided in Hainaut, and married Waldetrudis a relative of the royal family, (158) by whom he had some children, all of whom are said to have become distinguished by their sanctity. (159) Having lived together for some years they separated for the purpose of leading a religious life. Madelgar retired to the monastery of Mons-altus (Hautmont) in Hainaut, of which he was the founder, and there embraced the monastic state according to the rule of St. Benedict. Some time after Waldetrudis founded a nunnery at Castri-locus, which has given rise to the present city of Mons, and there spent the remainder of her days. I find the foundation of Hautmont assigned to about the year 650. (160) It is said that Madelgar was, before he became a monk, sent on some occasion to Ireland, and that on his return to France he brought with him some

learned and holy men. (161) This much seems certain, that he protected and patronized the Irish monks and missionaries, who happened to be in Hainaut and the neighbouring districts. Among them is particularly mentioned St. Wasnulf a bishop, who spent the latter years of his life in the monastery of Condatum (Condé), where he was buried and his memory is revered on the 1st of October, as the anniversary of his death, and on the 10th of January as that of a translation of his remains. (162) St. Madelgar it said to have erected another monastery at Soignes. (163) He died on the 14th of July about 677. (164) Some other Irish saints are mentioned as having been in France or Belgium in those times, such as Boetius, Corbican, &c. (165) But so little is known about them, that any inquiry into their history would be useless. Nor shall I trouble the reader with researches into the time, at which lived St. Florentinus an Irish priest of great reputation, whose memory is revered at Amboise in France. Let it suffice to observe, that he seems to have belonged to an earlier period than that we are now treating of, and to have been contemporary with St. German of Paris, who died in 576. (166) Roding, an Irishman and abbot of Bellilocus (Beaulieu) in the forest of Argonne, about seven leagues from Verdun and within three of Sainte Menehould, had gone over to France before the year 642, and spent some time there in the monastery of Tabullium (Tholey) in the Vosges. Afterwards he retired to that forest, and set about erecting a monastery, but was soon expelled together with his disciples, by Austresius a powerful and wealthy proprietor of that district, who did not like to allow foreigners to settle there. Roding then went to Rome, but after some time returned to his favourite spot, and having cured Austresius of a complaint, with which God had punished him, got from him a wood in which he founded the monastery of

Bellilocus in or about 642. Numbers of persons chiefly Irish, flocked to place themselves under his care. Having governed this establishment for many years, he appointed, some time before his death, one Stephen abbot of it, and retired with only one companion into a more solitary part of the forest, half a mile distant from the monastery, there preparing himself for eternity. But he used to return to the monastery on every Sunday and great festival to celebrate mass and attend at the offices of the day. He lived until about 680, and died on a 17th of September. His reputation was very great in that country, where he is vulgarly called *St. Rouin*. In the title of a little tract on his life he is called bishop and abbot; but in the tract itself there is nothing to show that he was a bishop. (167)

(156) Colgan promised (*AA. SS.* p. 412) to prove this point at his Acts 14 July, but did not live long enough to publish them. Bollandus speaks of him as an Irishman, at the Acts of St. Erard, 8 January. Mabillon treating of him (*Asta Bened. Tomi. 2. p. 672. seqq.*) says it is a mistake to make him an Irishman, and states that he was born at Sterpea (Strepy) in Hainault. But he gives us no proof of this assertion, except that Madelgar possessed great estates in that country. Might he not have acquired estates there without having been a native of it? Fleury, who mentions him, *Hist. Eccl. L. 39 §. 30.* has nothing as to the land of his birth. Some say that he accompanied St. Fursey from Ireland to England and afterwards to France. This does not agree with his having been a military man and married in France, and must be understood of another St. Madelgar, a member of St. Fursey's monastery of Latiniacum or Lagny, and who, as Mabillon observes, (*ib. p. 300.*) was known there by the name of *St. Mauger*. That this Madelgar was an Irishman will not be denied; and he was undoubtedly the one, whom Molanus, Miraeus, and others reckon among the followers and disciples of St. Fursey. (See *AA. SS. p. 96.*) The name *Madelgar* or *Maldegar* seems to indicate, that the surnamed Vincent was a relative of the other; and it may be supposed that, in consequence of said relationship, he went to

France to try his fortune in that country. *Madelgar*, or, probably more correct, *Maldegar* was a well known name in Ireland. There was a Maldogar bishop of Ferns, who died in 676. (*Tr. Th. p. 564.*) That *Vincent* was only his surname is admitted by Mabillon (*ib. p. 672.*) and Fleury (*loc. cit.*), and is clear from the Life of St. Gisleus, in which we read *ap. Mabillon (ib. p. 798)* “*Madelgarius, qui Vincentius post dictus est in palatio supradicti regis (Dagoberti I.)*”

(157) Colgan, following several writers, calls him Count of Hannonia (Hainaut); for it is said that he was governor of that province. The Bollandists (*Comment. pr. ad Vit. S. Waldetrudis, 9 Apr.*) say that he was a Count not of Hainaut but in Hainaut.

(158) She was a daughter of Walbert and Bertilia, and was born during the reign of Dagobert I. and consequently between 622 and 638. (See her Life *ap. Bolland. 9 April.*) Bollandus observes (at *St. Erard 8 January*) that intermarriages were frequent in those times between the French and the Irish, and instances the case of Waldetrudis and Madelgar.

(159) They were two sons, Landric and Dentelin, and two daughters, Aldetrudis and Madelberta. (See *AA. SS. p. 412.*) Mabillon says, (*Acta Ben. Tom. 2. p. 673*) that Dentelin died when only seven years old.

(160) Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

(161) Desmay has (*Life of St. Fursey, cap. 13.*) a ridiculous story of his having been sent as a governor to Ireland by Dagobert I. No part of Ireland was ever subject to the French kings. Others say that he conducted Dagobert the second, who after the death of his father Sigebert II. or III. king of Austrasia in 654 was shaved as a monk and sent to Ireland by Grimoald, who had succeeded his father Pepin of Landen as mayor of the palace. It is hard to think, that Madelgar would have been concerned in this iniquitous transaction; and there is every reason to think, that he had retired from the world before it occurred. Vernulaeus (*De propagatione fidei, &c.*) touching on this subject says that the more probable opinion is that he was an Irishman, and that it is universally allowed that he brought apostolic men from Ireland.

(162) See *AA. SS.* at 10 January. Molanus, Ferrarius, and Vernulaeus call him a bishop, and from Ireland.

(163) Bauceticus, quoted by Mabillon, says in his chronicle,

that Madelgar, thinking Hautmont not sufficiently retired, removed to Senegias (Soignies) a place not far distant, and there erected a monastery. He adds that he was buried there. Other accounts state, that he spent the whole of his monastic life at Hautmont.

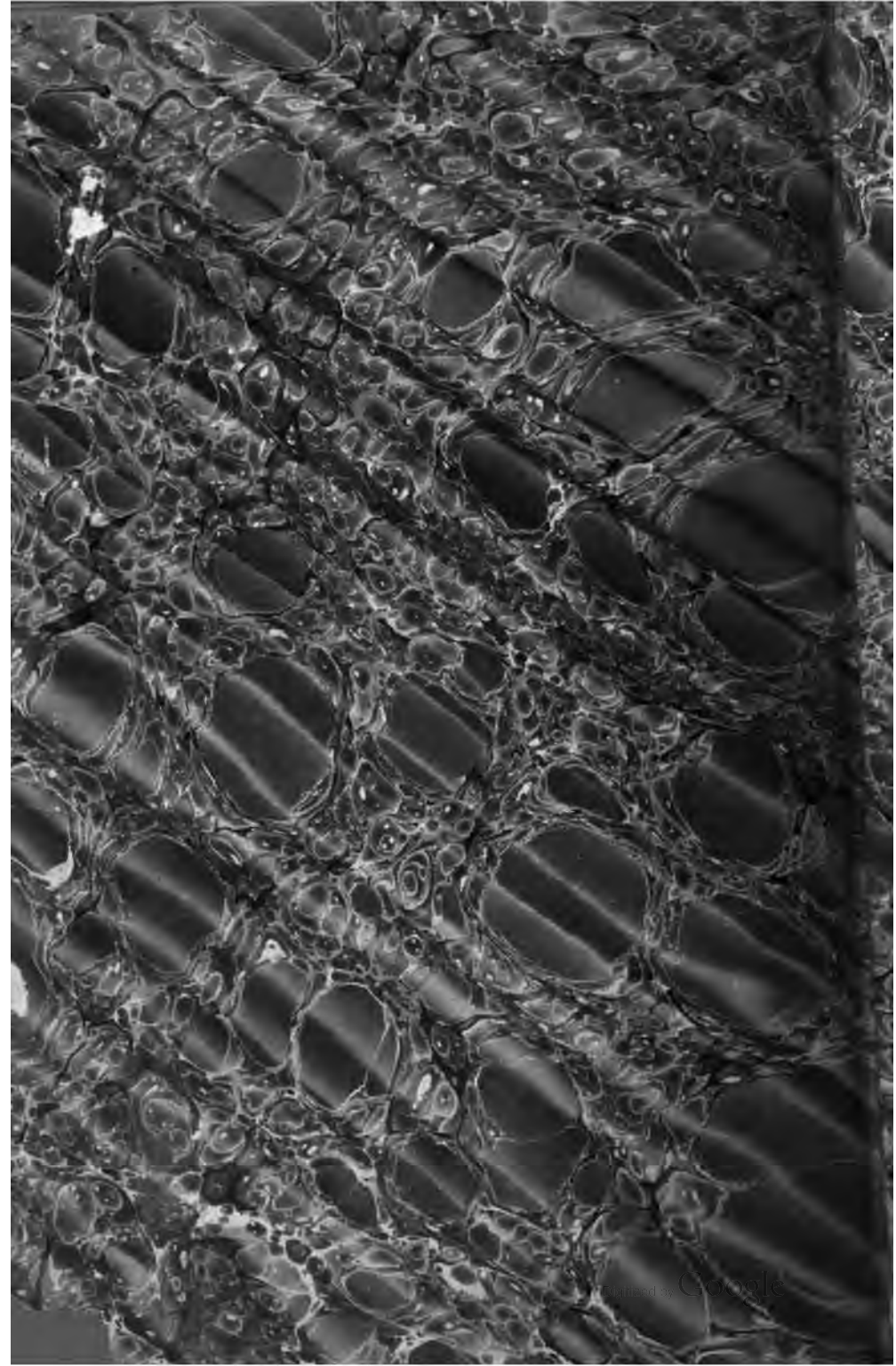
(164) Mabillon, *Acta*, &c. Tom. 2. p. 674..

(165) Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 96.

(166) According to Usher (*Ind. Chron.*) Florentinus was distinguished in 560. Compare with *Primordia*, p. 760. *seqq.*

(167) For this saint see Mabillon, *Annal. Ben.* at A. 642 and 680. and *Acta Ben. Appendix to Sec. IV. Part 2.* where he has published the Life of St. Roding written by an abbot Richard in the eleventh century. That Life is rather incorrect in one or two points, as, *ex. c.* when it states that Roding left Ireland at the same time with Columbanus and Gallus. He could not have left it so early.

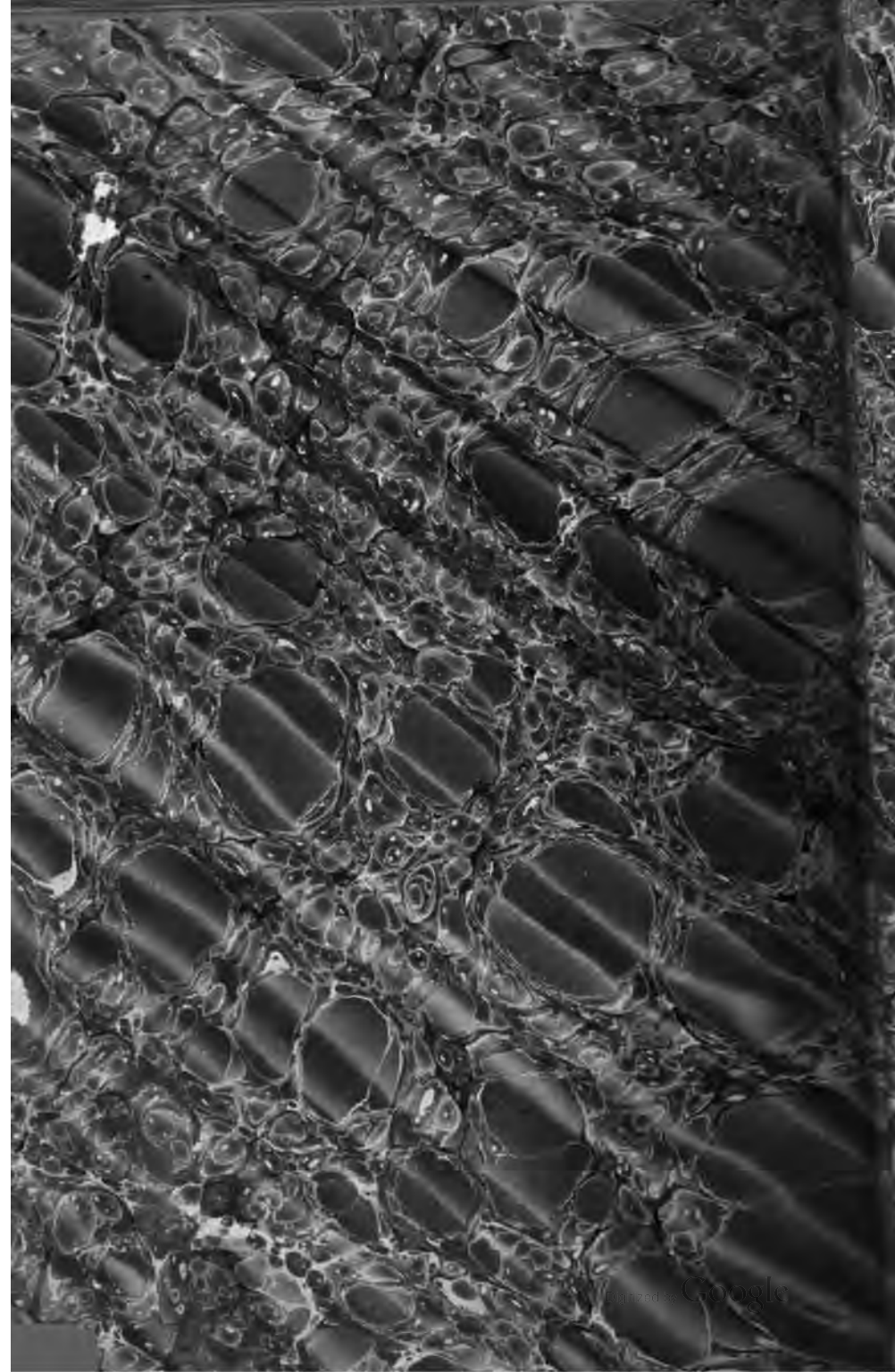
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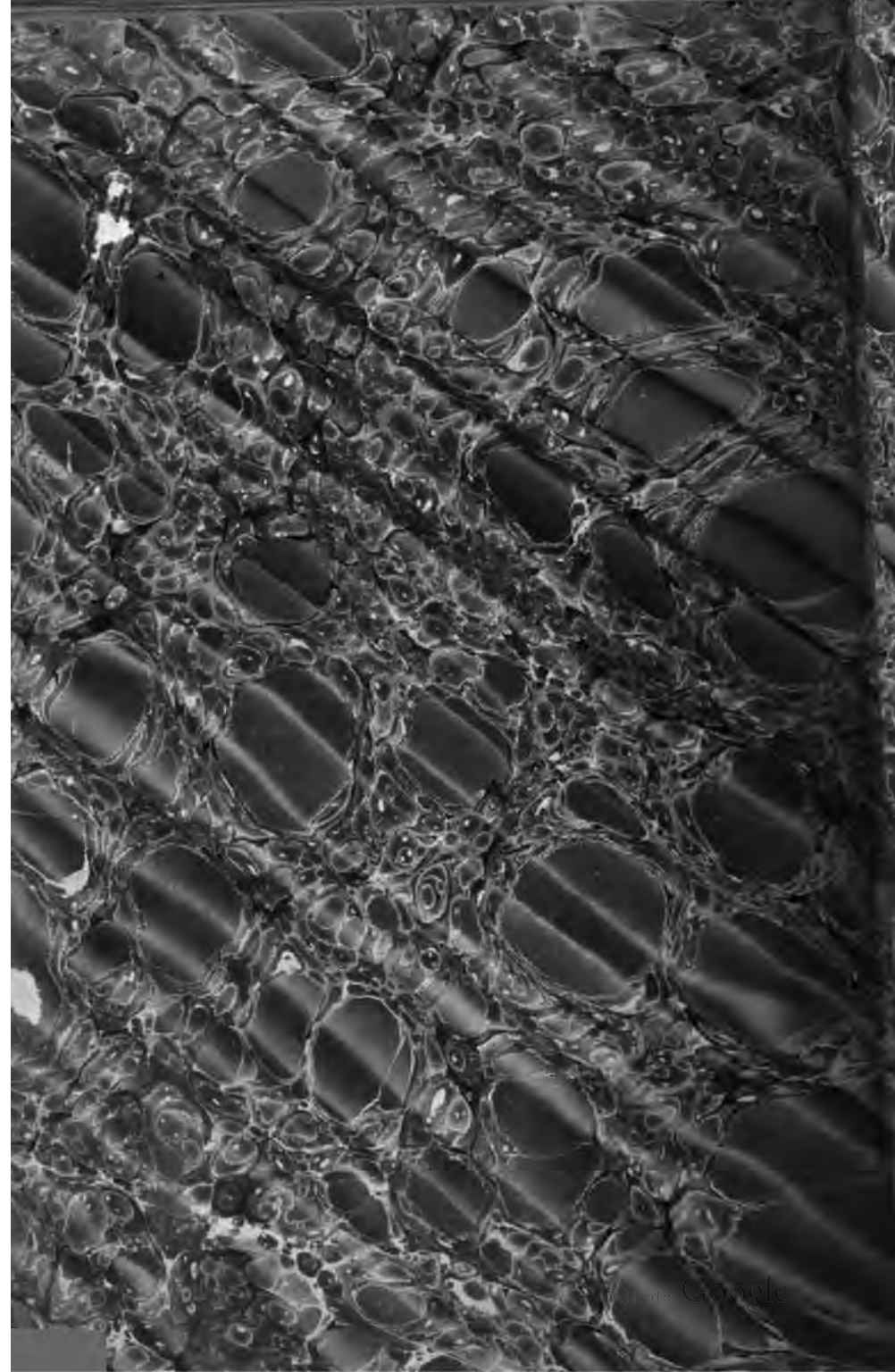
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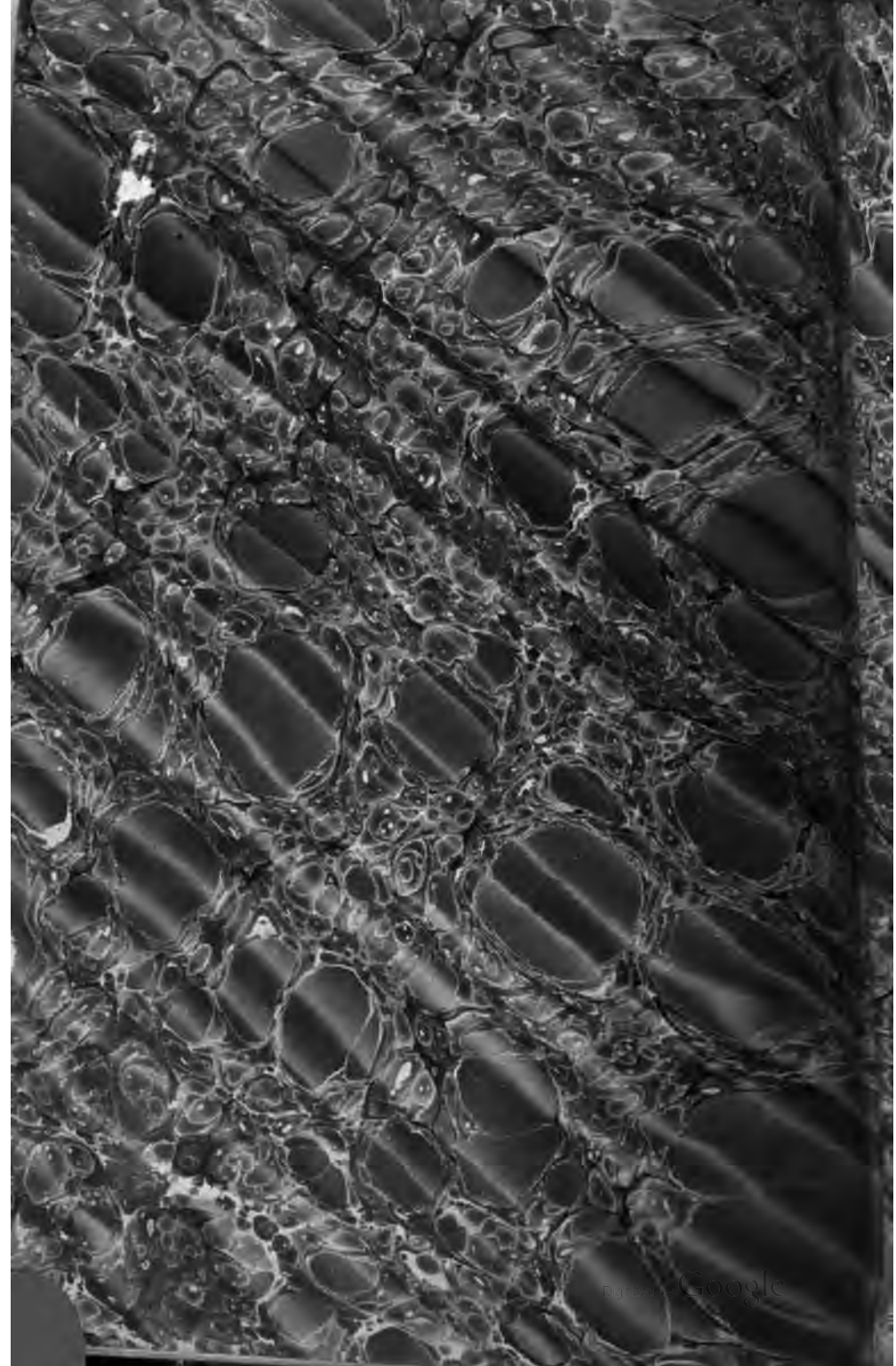
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